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ფოგნივესონ.

First Pastor of Charlestown & Boston.

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THE
HISTORY

OF THE

9115-8

FIRST CHURCH, CHARLESTOWN,

IN NINE LECTURES, WITH NOTES.

~~~~~  
BY WILLIAM H. BUDINGTON,  
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.  
~~~~~

" God of our fathers ! while our ears
Shall hear the chronicles of old—
Thy wondrous deeds in ancient years,
Which sires unto their sons have told ;—
May we their spirit catch, and give
Ourselves, anew, to Truth and Thee ;
And, like those worthies, dare to live
FREEMEN IN CHRIST, the only Free ! "

—•—
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By WILLIAM L. BUDINGTON,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

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THIS VOLUME
IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO THE
FIRST CHURCH AND CONGREGATION IN CHARLESTOWN,
BY THEIR
FRIEND AND PASTOR,
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

THE following Discourses were prepared in the ordinary course of my ministry, and delivered at a stated monthly lecture during the winter of 1842-3. It was originally my intention to condense the facts I had gathered, and publish them in a small manual; but having delayed the execution of this purpose until the commencement of the present year, I felt unable to perform the work of re-composition, and obliged to publish either what I had written or nothing. I have therefore revised my Lectures, and now publish them substantially as they were spoken, with a body of notes comprising the additional matter collected in the course of my investigations. I have enjoyed many pleasant hours, and been profited by many solemn reflections, while engaged in my historical studies, and feel that I have been repaid for my labor; and if my book shall have a similar moral effect upon the people of my charge, and such others as shall honor it with a perusal, I shall be more than repaid.

I shall always remember with pleasure the courtesy and kind assistance received from the various gentlemen whom I have consulted for information or advice. My grateful acknowledgments are due to all of them, and

especially to Rev. William Jenks, D. D., and Rev. Samuel Sewall, as the subsequent pages will frequently show.

It will be unnecessary for me here to enumerate the sources from whence my history is derived, as these will be sufficiently indicated in the course of the work ; it is with great pleasure, however, that I confess my obligations to the Hon. James Savage, not only for his valuable illustrations of Winthrop, which have thrown so much light upon our early history, but also for the encouraging interest and assistance he has afforded me in my labors. I am also indebted to Richard Frothingham, Jr., Esq., for valuable information afforded by his minute acquaintance with the antiquities of the town ; and trust that he will be amply encouraged in the publication of his 'History of Charlestown,' on which he is now engaged.

The likeness of Rev. John Wilson, prefixed to the volume as a frontispiece, is an accurate copy of a portrait preserved in the Rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I have only to say in conclusion to those of my friends who have been looking for my volume for several months, that the delay has been unavoidable, and has arisen in part from the intrinsic difficulty of carrying a work of this character through the press, and in part from the pressure of other and more important duties.

CHARLESTOWN, DEC. 8, 1845.

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.	<i>Page</i> 9
Settlement of the Town—Organization of the Church of Boston and Charlestown— Formation of the Charlestown Church—Rev. Thomas James—The Puritans.	
LECTURE II.	31
Original Members of the Church—Indians—Rev. Zechariah Symmes—Dismission of Mr. James—Synod of 1637—Rev. John Harvard—Rev. Thomas Allen—Synod of 1648—Elder John Greene—Description of Charlestown.	
LECTURE III.	54
Rev. Thomas Shepard—The Baptists—Synod of 1662—The Half-way Covenant— Rev. John Oxenbridge—Mr. Symmes.	
LECTURE IV.	71
Mr. Shepard's Election Sermon—His death—Ecclesiastical Council—Rev. Thomas Shepard the third.	
LECTURE V.	89
Synod of 1679-80—Mr. Shepard's ministry and death—Rev. Charles Morton.	
LECTURE VI.	106
Mr. Morton's advice to Candidates for the Ministry—His death—Rev. Simon Brad- street—Rev. Joseph Stevens—Mrs. Anne Bradstreet.	
LECTURE VII.	121
Mr. Stevens's death—His character—Rev. Hull Abbot—Rev. Thomas Prentice— State of Religion—The Great Awakening.	
LECTURE VIII.	136
Mr. Abbot's Artillery Election Sermon—His death—Battle of Bunker Hill—Death of Mr. Prentice—Rev. Joshua Paine.	
LECTURE IX.	150
Rev. Dr. Morse—Unitarianism—Benefactors of the Church.	

NOTES.

Note 1. Arrival of Winthrop,	163
" 2. Thomas Walford,	168
" 3. Thomas Graves,	168
" 4. Rev. Francis Bright,	170
" 5. Town Records,	171
" 6. Organization of the Church,	173

	<i>Page</i>
Note 7. John Winthrop,	174
" 8. Thomas Dudley,	175
" 9. John Wilson,	176
" 10. William Blackstone,	179
" 11. Inhabitants remaining in Charlestown,	179
" 12. Mrs. Wilson,	180
" 13. Old and New Style,	180
" 14. The Records and comparative age of the Church,	183
" 15. The New England Version of the Psalms,	187
" 16. The Spirit of the Puritans,	188
" 17. Increase Nowell,	190
" 18. Capt. Richard Sprague,	192
" 19. List of Deacons,	194
" 20. Meeting House and Sabba' Day House,	195
" 21. Thomas James,	196
" 22. Thomas Allen,	197
" 23. The Cambridge Platform,	197
" 24. Thomas Allen's Letter respecting the early Indian Missions,	199
" 25. Origin of the Baptist Church,	200
" 26. Old South Church,	208
" 27. Francis Willoughby,	208
" 28. Mr. Symmes,	209
" 29. Daniel Russell,	211
" 30. Seating the Meeting House,	211
" 31. Toleration,	212
" 32. Epitaph of Thomas Shepard,	215
" 33. Oakes's Elogy,	215
" 34. Letter of Hon. J. Q. Adams,	218
" 35. Letter to the Old South Church,	219
" 36. Shepard's Manuscripts,	220
" 37. Horsey's Letter,	221
" 38. Morton's Publications,	222
" 39. Mode of calling and settling Ministers,	223
" 40. Morton's Latin Epitaph,	225
" 41. Charlestown Lecture,	226
" 42. Stevens's Private Records,	227
" 43. Settlement of Mr. Prentice,	228
" 44. The Earthquake,	231
" 45. Abbot's Family,	232
" 46. Abbot's Publications,	233
" 47. Rev. Thomas Prentice,	233
" 48. Meeting House Hill,	234
" 49. Enlargement of the Meeting House,	235
" 50. Formation of the Parish,	237
" 51. The Tablet,	238
" 52. Installation of Rev. Dr. Morse,	239
" 53. Harvard and Winthrop Churches,	239
" 54. Dr. Morse,	240
" 55. Present Meeting House,	240
" 56. Sacramental Furniture,	240
" 57. The Russell Family,	242
" 58. Dea. Frothingham and Dea. Miller,	245
CATALOGUE OF ADMISSIONS TO FULL COMMUNION,	247
INDEX,	257

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

LECTURE I.

PSALM xliv. 1—3.

WE HAVE HEARD WITH OUR EARS, O GOD! OUR FATHERS HAVE TOLD US, WHAT WORK THOU DIDST IN THEIR DAYS, IN THE TIMES OF OLD. HOW THOU DIDST DRIVE OUT THE HEATHEN WITH THY HAND, AND PLANTEDST THEM; HOW THOU DIDST AFFLICT THE PEOPLE, AND CAST THEM OUT. FOR THEY GOT NOT THE LAND IN POSSESSION BY THEIR OWN SWORD, NEITHER DID THEIR OWN ARM SAVE THEM: BUT THY RIGHT HAND, AND THINE ARM, AND THE LIGHT OF THY COUNTENANCE, BECAUSE THOU HADST A FAVOR UNTO THEM.

THERE are few pursuits more pleasant and profitable than the study of History. We constitute a link which unites the past with the future, and we cannot fully understand our responsibilities, as we certainly cannot appreciate our advantages, without some acquaintance with the condition and services of past generations. As Christians, it is our first duty and principal happiness to know God; and to do this we must examine his Providence as well as his Word. The command of God to his ancient people was, "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations; ask thy father—and he will show thee; thy elders—and they will tell thee." Deut. xxxii. 7. And accordingly he instituted anniversaries and festivals to perpetuate the memory of his dealings with their fathers from generation to generation.

The believer in the providence of God, will find signal manifestations of it, in the successful planting of our Pilgrim Fathers on these shores. "The Shepherd of Israel, he that led Joseph like a flock, by the hand of Moses and Aaron," guided *our* fathers over the waters, and gave them in possession "this goodly heritage." If it be instructive therefore to study the history of ancient Israel, it cannot be otherwise to contemplate

the dealings of the same God with his chosen people of New England. And while we are pursuing the history of our Church for more than two centuries, I trust we shall find it profitable to converse with the pious dead, 'into whose labors we are entered,' and whose names deserve to be held in lasting honor, as well by the inhabitants of the town, as the members of the church. In giving a history of this church, we must begin with the settlement of the town.

It was in the month of June, 1630,¹ that Winthrop, the Father of Massachusetts, first trod our soil. The Arbella, in which he had crossed the Atlantic, arrived at Salem on the 12th of the month; and by the beginning of July the whole fleet had arrived, and the colonists began a permanent settlement in this place. But Winthrop and his companions were not the first settlers here. Two years before, in the summer of 1628,² Ralph Sprague, with his brothers Richard and William, together with three or four more, undertook a journey from Salem, and after travelling to the westward through the woods about twelve miles, they lighted upon this place. "Upon surveying," our town records say, "they found it was a neck of land, generally full of stately timber, and the country round about an uncouth wilderness." This peninsula was at that time full of Indians, who bore the pleasing name of Aberginians, and whose chief John Sagamore gave the new comers, "a free consent to settle about this hill."

But the Spragues again were not the first occupants of the soil, for they found here a single individual living alone,³ Thomas Walford by name, a smith,—he occupied a house, that was "thacht and palisadoed," and situated on the southern slope of this hill, a "little way up from the side of Charles River." Thomas Walford, therefore, was the first white inhabitant of this soil.

The following year, in June, 1629,⁴ Mr. Thomas Graves,⁵ an experienced engineer, came from Salem, with about 100 of the Company's servants, and began to make preparation for the arrival of the colonists. He found here ten inhabitants including the four already mentioned; and these, together with

¹ See Note 1.

² Prince's Chronology, and Town Records

³ Note 2.

⁴ Prince's Chron. p. 261.

⁵ Note 3.

the Rev. Thomas Bright,¹ minister to the Company's servants, are spoken of in our town records as being the first who settled in this place, and brought it into the denomination of an English town.

Mr. Graves built for the use of the Company, who were shortly to come over, a large house called "the Great House," which afterwards became the first meeting-house of this church. He also laid out the streets around the Town Hill, and measured out to each inhabitant a two acre lot, after which they began to build their houses and prepare their fences. It was also agreed upon to change the name of the place from Mishawum, by which it was known among the Indians, to Charlestown.² But it is not my design to give an account of the settlement of the town; this has already been done by a gentleman,³ who is preparing a History of the Town, in a manner that will leave nothing to be desired on this subject.

Such is a brief outline of the transactions which had taken place on this soil, when Winthrop landed with his company. We shall be enabled by it to form some idea of the welcome that awaited them on their arrival. They were about 1,500 in number, and the spot which they were to make their home must have looked dreary indeed. It was wearing its primitive and savage appearance, except in the immediate neighborhood of this hill. The primeval forest of oak trees, which had for unrecorded ages covered the peninsula, was still casting its shadows around them, except where the axe of Walford and the Spragues had let the sun in upon this eminence. The Governor and some of the patentees were accommodated in the Great House; but no hospitalities were or could have been afforded to the great majority. They accordingly erected booths and tents of cloth about the hill, and laid themselves down upon the cold and dewy ground to sleep. They had had a long passage over the Atlantic; some of the ships were seventeen, and some eighteen weeks, in coming. But the hearts of the Pilgrims were so rejoiced by the safe arrival of their fleet, that the 8th of July was set apart by general consent both here and at Salem, as a day of thanksgiving to God. And now, forgetting their past trials, and their present destitute condition,

¹ Note 4.

² Note 5.

³ Richard Frothingham, Jr., Esq.

they had both time and heart for the expression and cultivation of gratitude. We look back over the lapse of more than two hundred years, and as we behold this trusting and rejoicing band of Pilgrims upon this hill, on the 8th July, 1630, we feel that the beautiful stanzas of Mrs. Hemans are not more true to feeling than to history.

“ Not as the conquerer comes,
 They the true-hearted came,
 Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
 And the trumpet that sings of fame ;
 Not as the flying come,
 In silence and in fear,—
 They shook the depths of the desert’s gloom
 With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang,
 And the stars heard and the sea !
 And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
 To the anthem of the free !
 There were men with hoary hair,
 Amidst that pilgrim band—
 Why had they come to wither there,
 Away from their childhood’s land ?

There was woman’s fearless eye,
 Lit by her deep love’s truth ;
 There was manhood’s brow serenely high,
 And the fiery heart of youth.
 What sought they thus afar ?
 Bright jewels of the mine ?
 The wealth of seas, the spoils of war ?
 —They sought a faith’s pure shrine !

Ay, call it holy ground,
 The soil where first they trod !
 They have left unstain’d what there they found—
 Freedom to worship God ! ”

But a wild and savage home was not the only welcome of the Pilgrims. They disembarked from their vessels, many of them sick from long confinement on ship-board, and their sickness was greatly aggravated by their lodgings on the damp ground, and want of protection against the weather.

“ And although,” say our town records, “ the people were loving and pitiful, yet the sickness did so prevail, that the whole were not able to tend the sick as they should be tended, upon which many perished and died, and were buried about

the Town Hill." And thus the first spot they made their home, became to many of them their grave.

To add to their distress, their provisions were growing scarce. Much of their supplies had been damaged during the voyage; much wasted in consequence of the prevailing sickness; many had neglected to make adequate supplies, owing to a report which prevailed in England when they left, that there was now abundance in New England; and besides this, the season was so far advanced, that they could expect nothing from planting. Under these circumstances the Governor despatched Capt. William Pearce, with a ship of 200 tons, to the coast of Ireland to purchase provisions.

It would be difficult to estimate the discouraging effect which these things had upon the minds of the people. Leaving as they did an old and populous country like England, where they had been accustomed to the unnumbered conveniences which are the result of the labor of many generations, and which we learn to appreciate only when deprived of them, they must have been in a great measure unconscious of what awaited them here, and but poorly prepared, saving in faith and patience, for the hardships of a settlement in the wilderness. The sufferings endured by the earliest emigrants to the new lands of the West, may give us some idea of the *nature* of the privations to which our fathers were subjected, but not of the number and magnitude of their sacrifices.

These distressing circumstances, however, did not deter the Pilgrims from organizing a church, but rather hastened the execution of their purpose.¹ The 30th of July was observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and after appropriate religious services, Gov. Winthrop, Dep. Gov. Dudley, Mr. Isaac Johnson, and Rev. John Wilson, subscribed the following church covenant.

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy, wise, and divine ordinances:

"We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts; and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ,

¹ Note 6.

our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace."

Of the four highly distinguished individuals who entered first into this covenant, it is unnecessary that I should say much; they were not only the founders of the Church, but also of the Commonwealth, and their history is inseparably united with that of Massachusetts.

John Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts, and the first who signed the church covenant, was descended of respectable ancestors, who were distinguished for learning as well as attachment to the reformed religion under the reign of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary. He received an accomplished legal education, and was possessed of a large estate of 6 or £700 per annum, the whole of which he invested in the settlement of New England. He was highly esteemed and greatly beloved by his cotemporaries; and he will never cease to be revered and admired by the sons of New England for his honor, generosity, and Christian principle. When he removed from England he was about forty-three years of age.¹

Thomas Dudley, the Deputy Governor, had served under Queen Elizabeth as a soldier in France, and was subsequently distinguished for his prudent management of the large estates of the Earl of Lincoln; but becoming attached to the Non-conforming interest, he came to this country in the 54th year of his age. He was for many years Deputy Governor, and was at length chosen Governor, which office he sustained four years.²

Isaac Johnson, Esq., the third subscriber, was a gentleman of great amiableness, and enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence and affection of the people. He was possessed of a considerable fortune, and had married the Lady Arbella, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

The Rev. John Wilson, the first pastor of the Church, was

¹ Note 7.

² Note 8.

one of the most humble, pious and benevolent men of the age. His ancestors had been eminent in the Church of England. His father was a clergyman of distinguished rank in the reign of Elizabeth, and by his mother he was related to Dr. Grindal, the excellent Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

On the 1st August, Increase Nowell, Esq. and four others united with the church, and signed the covenant, and soon their number amounted to sixty-four men, and half as many women.

On the 23d August,² the first General Court, or Court of Assistants as it was then called, was held,—probably in the Great House. The record of that meeting is interesting, as an exhibition of the spirit of the colonists. Religion was the object of their first solicitude, while as yet they had their houses to build, and means to provide of subsistence for the approaching winter, and of defence against savage enemies. The first question proposed was, how the ministers should be maintained? And it was ordered that houses be built for them with convenient speed, at the public charge;—Sir Richard Saltonstall undertaking to see it done for Mr. Phillips at Watertown, and the Governor at this place for Mr. Wilson. In addition to this, their salaries were fixed at £30 a year.

On the 27th August,³ another fast was observed, and the church duly organized by the appointment of the proper officers; these were a Teacher, Pastor, Ruling Elder, and Deacons. To define the duties assigned to each as briefly as possible; the province of the teacher was to explain and defend the doctrines of Scripture,—that of the pastor was to exhort and apply the precepts of Scripture to practice,—the ruling elder was to attend to the discipline of the church, and the duties of the deacons were substantially then what they now are.

Mr. Wilson was chosen teacher, Mr. Nowell ruling elder, and Messrs. Gager and Aspinwall deacons. These were all severally set apart to their offices by the imposition of hands; with the explicit statement and understanding, however, that it did not imply, so far as Mr. Wilson was concerned, the renunciation of the ordination he had received in England.³

Thus was organized the third church in New England,—a society which became the fountain-head of influence—and

¹ Note 9.

² Prince's Chron.

³ Winthrop's Journal.

an object of profound reverence and affection. Its officers and members were the leading men of the colony. "Some have been heard to say," says Hubbard, "they believed it to be the most glorious church in the world."¹

In the month of August many of the colonists removed across the river, and in a short time the Governor and a majority of the inhabitants were residing on the other side of Charles river. The principal cause which led to this removal, was the want of running springs of water. The notion prevailed that "no water was good for a town but running springs."² and they were at that time acquainted with but one spring in this place, which, being situated in the sand, along the margin of Charles river, was for the most part brackish, and inadequate to supply the wants of the people. At this juncture Mr. William Blackstone,³ who was then living alone in a cottage on the Boston side, acquainted the Governor with the existence of an excellent spring on that side and solicited him to remove thither. In addition to this, the sickness of the people still continued, and numbers were dying, and by many this was attributed to the unhealthiness of the place.

Mr. Gager, the newly appointed deacon, died on the 1st of September, of a fever. He is spoken of by Governor Dudley, as "a right godly man, and skilful surgeon." But the spirits of the Pilgrims were especially affected by the death of Mr. Isaac Johnson, which took place on the 30th of September. He was so highly esteemed by the people, that his death was looked upon by many as almost involving the failure of their undertaking.

There are few passages in the early history of New England more affecting than the death of the Lady Arbella and her devoted husband. "She came," says Hubbard, "from a paradise of pleasure and plenty, in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants, and although celebrated for her many virtues, was unable to stem the tide of adversities she saw herself surrounded with, and in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days, at Salem, where she first landed." It were hard to add, as he does, that she was "one who possibly had not taken the counsel of our Saviour, to sit down and think what

¹ Hubb. Hist. p. 280.

² Town Records.

³ Note 10.

the cost would be before she began to build." Sadly and solemnly did the Fathers surround her grave; and it was only a month after, that they made a grave for her sorrowful husband, on the upper end of his lot in Boston, which extended to what is now Tremont street. He died "in sweet peace,"—rejoicing that he had seen the church of Christ gathered before his death. The spot where he was laid became holy ground—the first burying place of the Pilgrims—and as they died they requested that their bodies might be laid beside his. This is the burying place which adjoins the Stone Chapel.

"The grief of this people was further increased," says Johnson, "by the sore sickness which befel amongst them, so that almost in every family, lamentation, mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them, it would surely have moved the most lockt up affections to tears no doubt, had they passed from one hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in."¹ The mortality from which they suffered may be judged of, from the estimate they have left us that two hundred at least died between the time of their setting sail from England in April and the month of December following.²

Under these circumstances of deep affliction and severe depression, Governor Winthrop maintained a lofty courage, and bore up the sinking hopes of the colony. In a letter which he wrote at this time (September 9,) to his wife, after announcing the death of the Lady Arbella, and good Mr. Higginson, and expressing his confidence in God, he thus writes, "I thank God I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming; and if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of mind, which comes merely of the Lord's good hand; for we have not the like means of these comforts here, which we had in England. But the Lord is all sufficient, blessed be his holy name. If he please he can still uphold us in this estate; but if he shall see good to make us partakers with others in more

¹ Johnson's Wound. Work. Prov. ch. xvii.

² Gov. Dudley's Letter, Hist. Coll. 1st ser. viii. 41.

affliction, his will be done. He is our God, and may dispose us as he sees good ! ”

It was in the month of November that the Governor, Deputy Governor, and all the Assistants except Mr. Nowell removed their families to Boston. The frame of the Governor's house had already been cut, and was about to be erected, but it was carried over to Boston.¹

After this, for a period of two years, the inhabitants of Charlestown, were “constrained to go to Boston on the Lord's day to hear the word, and enjoy the sacraments before they could be otherwise supplied.”²

The winter was now approaching, and the scarcity of provisions was continually increasing ; the people were compelled to live upon clams and muscles, ground nuts and acorns, and these were obtained with much difficulty in the winter time. “Upon these accounts,” say our town records, “the people became much tired and discouraged, especially when they heard that the Governor had his last batch of bread in the oven. And many were the fears of the people, that Mr. Pearce, who was sent to Ireland to fetch provisions, was cast away or taken by pirates ; but God who delights to appear in greatest straits did work marvellously at this time, for before the very day appointed to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, about the month of February or March, (5th of February,)”³ in comes Mr. Pearce laden with provisions ; upon which occasion the day of fast was changed and ordered to be kept as a day of thanksgiving. The provisions were distributed among the people in proportion to their necessities.”

I shall pass hastily over the occurrences that transpired during the two years that the people of Boston and Charlestown were united in the same church,—these subjects belonging rather to the history of the First church in Boston and to the history of this town.

In March of 1631, the Rev. Mr. Wilson left for England,⁴ intrusting the spiritual charge of his church to Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, and Mr. Nowell the ruling

¹ Note 11.

² Town Records.

³ Mather says that on this day Gov. Winthrop was distributing the last handful of the meal in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the wolf at the door, when at that instant they spied a ship arrived at the harbor's mouth laden with provisions for them all.—Vol. i. 112.

⁴ Note 12.

elder. His place however, was soon occupied by the Rev. John Eliot, who came to our country the ensuing autumn, and was afterwards distinguished as the apostle to the Indians.

Mr. Wilson carried with him a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, written by Mr. Dudley the Deputy Governor of the Colony. It contains an impartial account of the condition of the plantation at that time, and I will therefore present an extract from it.

"Having some leisure," he writes, "to discourse of the motives for other men's coming to this place, or their abstaining from it; after my brief manner I say this: That if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him: But if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him: viz. Materials to build, fuel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breath in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made; which together with the cows, hogs and goats, brought hither already, may suffice for food; as for fowl and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. For clothes and bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied, and endure much to be pitied in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, lest other men should fall short of their expectations, when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did; by means of letters sent us from hence into England; wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men out of religious ends will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves, nor of their estates more to God's glory, and the furtherance of their own reckoning: but they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years. For we have found by experience that they have hindered, not furthered the work: and for prophane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and

theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our Macedonia, and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment: for others I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business."¹

The return of the Rev. Mr. Wilson took place May 26, 1632, and in August the congregation of Boston and Charlestown began to build a meeting-house; for which purpose, and the erection of a dwelling-house for Mr. Wilson, a voluntary contribution was made, amounting to about £120. This building was erected on the south side of State street, in Boston; its roof was of thatch, and its walls of mud.²

This was the last enterprise in which the united congregation of Boston and Charlestown were engaged. The division of the church took place soon after. The more immediate occasion of this, was the arrival of the Rev. Thomas James, who became an inhabitant of this place, and thus afforded the people an opportunity to establish a separate church. The severity of the winter season seemed also to render the step necessary. We learn from Winthrop's journal, that our people were unable to cross the ferry on some occasions, in consequence of the cold and the quantity of floating ice in the river. The winter was now setting in upon them, and it was destined to be the severest one the Pilgrims had ever experienced.³

The request of the Charlestown members having been made for a dismission, the church appointed the 11th of October for seeking the direction of God, and on the following Sabbath (14th) 35 persons, 19 males and 16 females, were dismissed to form this church.

Up to the period of the separation, i. e. from July, 1630, to October, 1632, 151 persons had been admitted to full com-

¹ 1 Mass. H. S. Coll. viii. 42. For the most accurate copy of this interesting and valuable letter see Force's Hist. Tracts, vol ii. In this connection the following extract from Mather will be found interesting. "By computation the passage of the persons that peopled New England cost at least £95,000. The transportation of their first small stock of cattle great and small cost no less than £12,000, besides the price of the cattle themselves: the provisions laid in for subsistence, till tillage might produce more, cost £45,000: the materials for their first cottages cost £18,000; their arms, ammunition and great artillery, cost £22,000; besides which £192,000, the adventurers laid out in England what was not inconsiderable. About 198 ships were employed in passing the perils of the seas, in the accomplishment of this renowned settlement; whereof by the way, but one miscarried in those perils"—*Mag.* I. 64.

² Winthrop's Journal, p. 87. Emerson's Hist. First Chh.

³ "A terrible cold winter," says Johnson, "with weekly snows, and fierce frosts between while congealing Charles River, as well from the town to sea-ward, as above, insomuch that men might frequently pass from one island to another upon the ice."—*W. W. Prov. ch. xxvi.*

munion, 80 or 90 of whom were males, and constituted the body of the inhabitants. The Charlestown members therefore made up nearly one fourth of the church.

Friday, the 2d of November, or 12th,¹ according to our mode of reckoning, was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, when a church covenant was formed, and subscribed by 35 persons, 19 males and 16 females, and Mr. James elected and ordained pastor. The covenant is expressed in nearly the same words as the original covenant of the first church.²

We have no record left us of the religious ceremonies of this day ; but we may learn with sufficient accuracy what they were, from the particular account which Johnson has given us of the organization of the First church in Woburn, which was constituted out of this church ten years after. The congregation assembled about eight o'clock,—perhaps under the Charlestown Oak, beneath which the first religious assemblies were held. After the public exercises,—which in the case of the Woburn church were performed by the Rev. Mr. Symmes, pastor of this church, who “continued in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five hours,”—those who were to join first in the covenant stood forth and gave a relation of their religious experience—what the Lord had done for them by his word and providence—and also a profession of their faith in those doctrines upon which their hopes were founded. The messengers of other churches present questioned them on any points they had doubt of, until all were satisfied. They then unitedly entered into covenant with one another ; after which they received the right hand of fellowship from the representatives of the churches, and were recognized as a regularly constituted church.

After this they proceeded to elect a pastor, and chose Mr. James, who was set apart to office-work in this church, by two or three persons, who laid their hands upon his head, and said, “We ordain thee to be pastor unto this church of Christ.”³

¹ Note 13.

² Note 14.

³ It was in this manner that Mr. Carter, the first minister of the Woburn church, was ordained. See Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, ch. xxii. But Hubbard tells us, ch. xlviii, “There was some little difference about the manner of his ordination ; for in regard they had no other officer in their church besides, nor any of their members that thought themselves fit to solemnize such an ordinance, they were advised by some to desire the elders of other churches to perform it, by imposing hands on the said Mr. Carter ; but others supposing it might be an occasion of introducing the dependency of churches, &c. and

The first time this church assembled after its organization, for public worship, was on the 4th of November, O. S. With the close of this Sabbath,¹ therefore, two hundred and ten years will have passed away, since this church commemorated our Lord's resurrection for the first time. From that time to this, with the exception of a little more than three years, when the town lay in ashes, and the people were dispersed, the worship of God has been maintained, and his ordinances duly administered.

And here let me mention the order of public worship observed by the Puritans: it will enable us to form some idea of the manner in which our fathers spent the Lord's day on which they first assembled as a distinct church, as well as their Sabbaths generally.

They came together in the morning of the Sabbath as early as 9 o'clock, and frequently before. After prayer either the pastor or the teacher read a chapter and expounded it, giving the sense, to cause the people to understand the reading, according to Neh. viii. 8. A psalm was then sung, which was dictated by the ruling elder,² and a sermon preached by the one who had not expounded, commonly the pastor, and the services were closed with a prayer and blessing by the teacher. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the morning once a month, notice of which was given a fortnight beforehand, the ministers and ruling elders sitting at the table, the two ministers sharing equally in the services, which were what they now are.

In the afternoon, after prayer by the pastor or teacher, the Word was again read and expounded, (if time allowed,) by the one who preached in the morning, and a sermon preached by

so of a presbytery, were not so free to admit thereof, and therefore it was performed by one of their own members, though not so well to the satisfaction of some of the magistrates and ministers then present; and since that time it hath been more frequent in such cases to desire the elders of neighboring churches, by virtue of communion of churches, to ordain such as are by the churches and people chosen to be their officers, where there are no elders before." When Mr. Cotton was ordained teacher of the Boston Church, Oct. 17, 1633, the pastor, Mr. Wilson, and the two ruling elders, laid their hands upon his head, while the pastor prayed and gave him the charge of the congregation. Then the neighboring ministers that were present gave him the right hand of fellowship. When no eldership existed previously in a church, it was held proper that some of the brethren should be deputed by the church to ordain; and this, says Hubbard, was approved of "by the learned Dr. Hornbeck, Professor of Divinity in Holland, and a Presbyterian in his judgment, and engaged in the defence of that cause." But it soon became the usual practice for the ordination to be performed by the elders of neighboring churches, in virtue of the communion of churches. See Hubbard, ch. xxviii.

¹ November 13, 1842.

² Note 15.

the other, commonly the teacher. After this, baptism was administered, (if occasion required,) by either pastor or teacher, in the deacons' seat, which was under the elders' and higher than the other pews. The minister commonly made an exhortation to the church and parents concerning the ordinance, and prayed before and after. This ended, the contribution followed, one of the deacons calling upon the people and saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. The whole congregation then arose and proceeded to the deacons' seat, the magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and then the rest of the congregation, all the men, all single persons, widows, and women in the absence of their husbands, came up one by one, and put their offerings into a box of wood made for the purpose, and then passed another way to their seats again. Their offerings were of money, and goods and chattels of various descriptions; and from them, the deacons made distribution for the maintenance of the ministers, the poor of the church, and other purposes, such as the church appointed. This custom was founded on Deut. xvi. 16, Acts iv. 35, and vi. 3, 1 Cor. i. 2. After the contribution, members were received, and cases of discipline tried, until it oftentimes became very late. If they had time, a psalm was sung, and the services concluded with a prayer and blessing.¹

Before proceeding any further in our narrative, allow me to give a brief account of the origin of the Puritans, that we may obtain some general idea of their religious character, and the principles that led to their dissent from the Church of England.

The Puritans had their origin in the convulsions into which Europe was thrown by the Reformation. Previously to that memorable era, the Christian church had preserved for the most part a visible unity, and the Bishop of Rome had gradually subjugated the Christian world, and by the same insensible degrees the most monstrous errors had crept into the creed and worship of the church. When the conscience and common sense of the world began to awake, and men inquired what was of divine and what of human origin, as a matter of course

¹ Cotton's Way of the Chhs. ch. iv. Lechford's Plain Dealing, 3 Mass. H. S. Coll. iii. 76.

a great conflict of opinion ensued, and two great parties were formed, one advocating the old established order of things, and the other maintaining the necessity of a reformation to a greater or less extent.

This great contest commenced early and raged long in England—our father-land. Previously to the reign of Henry VIII. the elements of the Reformation existed in England, and many noble spirits had labored and bled in that cause. At length, however, that imperious monarch, wishing to obtain a divorce from his wife, and having applied in vain to the Pope, who for certain reasons could not grant it, declared the church of England independent of the Roman See, and himself the Head of the church. This, of course, was rather a political than a moral revolution; but it afforded the friends of the Reformation, both in the kingdom and on the continent, a favorable opportunity, which they diligently improved in spreading among the people a correct knowledge of the Scriptures. So that during the reign of Henry and the short reign of the gentle Edward, the Reformation took such deep root in England, that no violence was ever subsequently able to extirpate it.

Under the reign of the cruel Mary, popery was re-established, and everything done which persecution could do, to prevent the spread of the Reformation. It was impossible; the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. Many bright lights were indeed extinguished, and much of the purest and best blood of England shed. But this was all that persecution could do; it killed the body, but the spirit of the martyrs fled to the breasts of the people, and became omnipotent and immortal. It was in this sanguinary period that the Puritan or leading portion of the Reformers, suffered most severely, and testified by their sufferings and death, how heartily they had espoused and how dearly they loved the cause of pure religion. Under Elizabeth the reformed religion was revived and permanently established as the religion of the state;—and now the question arose, To what extent shall we carry the Reformation; what part of the ancient forms and services of the church shall be retained, and what part reformed? Upon this question two great parties arose,—the one for departing to a greater, and the other to a less extent from the church, as they found it at

the period of the Reformation. There was a large class, as you would naturally suppose, who were on the side of the Reformation from political motives, and having no spiritual sympathies with Luther and the Reformers, were in favor of retaining all the peculiarities of their ancient faith and worship. Then there were a class of genuine Reformers, who from conviction and a conservative dread of radical changes, were disposed to stop short in the work of reform, lest it should unsettle the very foundations of religion. And finally there were the Puritans, who, as their name imports, were for purifying the church, from everything for which evidence might not be produced from the Scriptures.

In January, 1563, Queen Elizabeth's first Protestant Convocation assembled, of which Alexander Nowell—the uncle or great uncle of Increase Nowell the founder of this church—was prolocutor. This convocation agreed to the thirty-nine articles, and having finished the articles, proceeded to the Reformation of Ceremonies in the Public Liturgy, and it was on this subject that a great contest arose, and the Puritan party (embracing the larger part of the dignitaries of the church) were defeated by a majority of one. The points upon which this final issue was made, were the following six in number;—"That all Sundays and principal feasts of Christ be kept holy days, and all others abrogated. That the minister in common prayer turn his face to the people and distinctly read the service. That in baptism, the ceremony of making the cross on the child's forehead be omitted, as tending to superstition. That at the communion, kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary. That it be sufficient in time of saying divine service and ministering the sacraments, to use a surplice. And finally that the use of organs be removed."¹

These articles were voted down by a bare majority, procured by proxies;—and from that time forward, the Puritans were displaced and oppressed with increasing severity until some were driven to separation and exile. The policy adopted by Elizabeth and her advisers was designed to conciliate the papists, and for this purpose ancient ceremonies were retained, that the outward shows of religion might be the same. The

¹ Strype, quoted by Prince, p. 291, and Burnet, iii. 454.

scruples of the Puritans were disregarded, their intelligent and conscientious convictions were treated with contempt, and they were required to bow to the authority of the church in respect to outward ceremonies, which common sense as well as Christian charity would require should be left to the discretion of the worshipper or minister.

This spirit of tyrannical and absurd interference with the rights of conscience, descended from Elizabeth to her successor King James; and the hopes of the Puritans were finally crushed by the issue of the conference at Hampton Court. On this occasion Dr. Reynolds stated, in behalf of the Puritans, that all they required might be reduced to these four heads;—purity of doctrine,—the supply of the churches with good pastors,—the scriptural administration of church government,—and the improvement of the Book of Common Prayer.

In regard to the first point nothing was obtained except a new translation of the Bible;—and for this noble translation, now in the hands of all English Christians, the world are indebted to the Puritans.

In reply to their scruple how far the ordinance of the church bindeth, without impeaching Christian liberty? James warmly declared, “I will not argue that point with you, but answer as kings in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*. This is like Mr. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me the last conference in Scotland, that he would hold conformity with his Majesty in matters of doctrine, but every man for ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty. But I will have none of that! I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony. Never speak more to that point how far you are bound to obey!”

In regard to church government, Dr. Reynolds desired that the clergy might have meetings every three weeks for the discussion of scriptural and theological questions. “If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery,” replied the king, “it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, ‘*Le Roy s'avisera*.’ Stay I pray for one seven years before you demand that! and then if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may, perchance, hearken unto you, for that government will keep me in breath

and give me work enough." And then repeating his favorite maxim, "No bishop, no king!" the king broke up the conference by saying, "if this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform, or harrie them out of the land,—or else do worse!"¹

Such was the spirit of the temporal Head of the church of England when the Puritans were struggling to advance and secure the principles of the Reformation. As a consequence, they were excluded from the National church, although, for serious piety, sound learning, and heroic sufferings, under the persecuting reign of Queen Mary, they were as much entitled to be embraced within it, as any portion of the English people. To the church as now established by law, the Puritans could not conform,—and hence their name—Non-conformists. They were at the outset a numerous and powerful party; and they increased, till under the tyrannical reign of Charles I., they overthrew the constitution of both church and state.

The Puritans, however, were by no means agreed among themselves. There was among them a class of rigid Separatists who looked upon the entire constitution of the English as well as Roman church, as unscriptural and anti-Christian;—they came out from among them, therefore, and held themselves separate. The non-conformists generally however did not formally separate from her, but held themselves ready to unite with her as a true church, when released from observances and tests, which in conscience they could not submit to.

Such were the Puritans of Massachusetts. They not only owned themselves Englishmen, but the church of England also as their dear mother. And the letter which Winthrop and his companions addressed to their brethren of the church of England, on taking farewell of them, is a beautiful exhibition of the mild spirit and rational principles, with which they began their enterprise: the sweetness of its humanity as well as its simple and heart-touching eloquence has made it and will always make it, one of the dearest monuments to their praise. It is entitled "The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and Company late gone for New England; for the obtaining of their prayers, and the

¹ Southey's Book of the Church.

removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions.”
[London, printed for John Bellamie, 1630. 4to.]¹

“REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN :

“The general rumor of this solemn enterprise, wherein ourselves with others, through the providence of the Almighty are engaged, as it may spare us the labor of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord’s faithful servants. For which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy ; which as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits.

“We beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us, for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world ; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother ; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there ; but blessing God for the parentage and education ; as members of the same body shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

“Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand ; which, if it prosper, you

¹ Hubbard, ch. xxiii.

shall be the more glorious ; howsoever, your judgment is with the Lord, and your reward with your God. It is an usual and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straits of your private neighbors. Do the like for a church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our sails, and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall find it, and yourselves, with the rest of our friends who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of thanksgivings, as the specialties of his providence and goodness may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make continual mention of the church of Philippi, (which was a colony from Rome) ; let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, (who are a weak colony from yourselves,) making continual request for us to God in all your prayers. What we entreat of you that are the ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of grace. If any there be, who through want of clear intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so much of our way as we could desire, we would entreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections ; but to consider rather, that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always, that both nature and grace doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

“ What goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ Jesus, shall labor to repay, in what duty we are or shall be able to perform ; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribula-

tions which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us.

“And so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest your assured friends and brethren.

JOHN WINTHROP, GOV.
CHARLES FINES,
GEORGE PHILLIPS,
&c.

RICH: SALTONSTALL,
ISAAC JOHNSON,
THO: DUDLEY,
WILLIAM CODDINGTON,
&c.

“From Yarmouth, aboard the Arbella, April 7, 1630.”

So likewise when Mr. Higginson, the first minister of Salem, had embarked, and was about to leave England, he called up his children and other passengers, unto the stern of the ship to take their last sight of England, saying, “We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell Babylon! farewell Rome! But we will say, Farewell dear England! farewell the church of God in England, and the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it: but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America.”¹

In this spirit of Christian charity did the fathers of the Massachusetts Colony leave their brethren in England, and begin to establish civil and religious institutions in this wilderness. They were not separatists, nor were they enthusiastic theorists. Such there might have been, and no doubt were among them, for they themselves intimate, that there were some “*amongst* them, who were not *of* them.” But “the principals and body of their company” were of a far different spirit; they went forth as a colony, “esteeming it their honor to call the Church of England their dear mother.”

In this they breathed the very spirit of catholicity, and evinced their freedom from the sin of schism and sectarianism. And if any among them, or of their children after them, have evinced a contrary spirit, it is shown to be manifestly a departure from the “Spirit of the Pilgrims.”²

¹ Mather's Mag. I. 328.

² Note 16.

LECTURE II.

PSALM lxxx. 8—11.

THOU HAST BROUGHT A VINE OUT OF EGYPT: THOU HAST CAST OUT THE HEATHEN, AND PLANTED IT. THOU PREPAREDST ROOM BEFORE IT, AND DIDST CAUSE IT TO TAKE DEEP ROOT, AND IT FILLED THE LAND. THE HILLS WERE COVERED WITH THE SHADOW OF IT, AND THE BOUGHS THEREOF WERE LIKE THE GOODLY CEDARS. SHE SENT OUT HER BOUGHS UNTO THE SEA, AND HER BRANCHES UNTO THE RIVER.

IN the first Lecture, I gave some account of the First church gathered upon this soil, the removal of its pastor and majority of its members to Boston, and the causes which led to the organization of the present First church of Charlestown, November 2, 1632, two years after the formation of the original church.

I shall now proceed to give some account of the founders or original members, and the first pastor of the church, together with a few of the more prominent facts in our ecclesiastical history.

The first name subscribed to the church covenant is that of Increase Parnel Nowell.¹

Mr. Nowell was the only one of the assistants or magistrates who remained in this town, when the governor and others removed to Boston. He was also appointed ruling elder of the church; an office which he held until a few months before this church was formed, when the question was agitated whether a person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder of the church at the same time. This inquiry was proposed in writing to the sister churches of Plymouth and Salem, and being answered by them in the negative, Mr. Nowell laid down his office in the church, and devoted himself exclusively, to the end of life, to the duties of a civil magistrate, for which he

¹ See note 14. The method of signing this covenant is remarkable. Instead of Increase Nowell and Parnel his wife, it is Increase Parnel Nowell, a single name, affording a pleasing conformity to the declaration of Scripture, "They twain shall be one."

was well qualified. His father or grandfather, was brother to the famous Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and prolocutor of her first convocation. He is mentioned in the charter of Massachusetts granted by King Charles I. as an associate to the six original patentees, and was for a number of years secretary of the colony.¹ Johnson, who resided in this town, and must have known him well, pronounces a high eulogium upon him, as an honorable and upright hearted man, who, though brought up tenderly and in the midst of abundance, was yet contented with the poverty and self-denial of his wilderness home. As a magistrate he was just both to poor and rich, and the people expressed their sense of his faithfulness, and the constancy of their regard, by choosing him secretary many successive years.² He was one of the owners of the ship *Jewel*, and probably possessed a very considerable estate, but with nearly all the first and most active planters, he became poor. He died Nov. 1, 1655. His will, bearing date June 23, 1655, has been preserved in the probate office. Two of his sons, Samuel and Alexander, graduated at Harvard college, the first of whom entered the ministry, and subsequently occupied important stations in the service of the colony. The services of Mr. Nowell appear to have been held in grateful memory. Shortly after his death, the town released his widow from paying the town rates thenceforward. The General Court had, in 1650, made him a grant of 3,200 acres of land.

I have been thus particular in regard to Mr. Nowell, because he, more than any other man, may be considered the father of the church and the town. He was a zealous Puritan, an active and devout Christian, and deserves to be held in grateful esteem

¹ Winthrop's Jour. Emerson's Hist. First Ch. Prince's Chron.

² Johnson bestows the following lines upon Mr. Increase Nowell.

"Increase shalt thou, with honor now, in this thy undertaking,
Thou hast remained, as yet unstained, all errors foul forsaking;
To poor and rich thy justice much hath manifested been,
Like Samuel, Nathanael, Christ hath thee framed within;
Thy faithfulness people express, and Secretary they
Chose thee each year, by which appear, their love with thee doth stay.
Now Nowell see, Christ called hath thee, and work thou must for him,
In beating down the triple crown, and all that his foes been.
Thus doest thou stand by Christ, frail man, to tell his might can make
Dust do his will, with graces fill, till dust to him he take."

W. W. Prov. ch. xxvi.

by the citizens of this Commonwealth, and especially by the inhabitants of this town.¹

The second name among the founders of this church, is that of Thomas Beecher. He was the master of the ship *Talbot*, which was the Vice Admiral of the fleet that brought Winthrop and his company to our shores; he had also brought to Salem the year before in the same vessel, the venerable Higginson, the first minister of Salem, and the father of the Massachusetts clergy. He early united with the Boston church, and was a representative from this town the first time that deputies were sent to the General Court.²

The third subscriber was Abraham Palmer, one of the first settlers of the town, having come hither with the Spragues in 1628. He was one of a committee appointed to administer the oath of office to Gov. Endicott; an associate with Thomas Beecher in representing the town for the first time in the General Court, and is also mentioned as a "sergeant having about twelve men under his command, in Mason's History of the Pequod War."³

Ralph Sprague was the fourth, and his brother Richard the fourteenth, in the list of subscribers to the church covenant. They have already been spoken of as the first occupants of the soil. They came to this country at their own charge, and were men of enterprise, property, and character. The descendants of Richard have laid the church and the town under great obligations.

Capt. Richard Sprague died on the 25th of November, 1668, at the age of sixty-three, and bequeathed to the church property to the amount of about £30. His son, who bore the same title, died on the 7th of October, 1703, at the age of seventy-eight, and was the most munificent benefactor of this church, having bequeathed to it a valuable parsonage-house and lands.⁴

Edward Converse, the fifth named, was the individual who first established a ferry between Charlestown and Boston. By order of the Court, (June 14, 1631,) he was permitted to charge 2*d.* for ferrying a single person, and 1*d.* if there be two or

¹ Note 17.

² Savage's *Winth.* I. 2.

³ Hubb. 122. 2 *Hist. Coll.* viii. 146.

⁴ Note 18.

more. He subsequently became one of the seven founders of the church in Woburn, where his descendants still live.

Ezekiel Richardson, the next in order, became also one of the founders of the Woburn church.

Henry Harwood, the eighth, was a companion of the unfortunate Richard Garrett, who attempted, in the month of December, the first winter after the arrival of the planters, to go from Boston to Plymouth in an open shallop, against the advice of his friends. Gov. Winthrop has left us a particular account of this distressing occurrence.¹ They were driven to sea by a storm, and after suffering so much by cold that they gave themselves up for lost, they made the shore of Cape Cod. Here they spent the night without shelter or fire, and in the morning started for Plymouth, supposing it to be within seven or eight miles, whereas it was at the distance of fifty. By a kind Providence, they fell in with an Indian, whose assistance was timely enough to rescue all from death, except Richard Garrett, who died shortly after being landed, the first victim of the storm, where thousands have perished since. Harwood, after great suffering, partially recovered, and probably in consequence of his disability from this calamity, he was appointed (1632) to keep the milch cattle of the town in a herd on the main without the neck until harvest, "driving them forth every morning and bringing them into town every evening." He was one of the earliest members of the Boston church, and is spoken of by Governor Winthrop as a godly man. He lived but a short time after the organization of the church.

Robert Hale, the ninth in the list, and Ralph Mousall, the thirteenth, were the first deacons of the church.²

William Frothingham, the twelfth, is the ancestor of the large and respectable family that bear his name, and is the only one of the original founders of the church, whose lineal descendants are still in the midst of us; three of his posterity have successively borne the office of deacon among us, and the name has been on the list of members from that time to this.

I conclude these sketches, with the name of the Rev. Thomas James, the pastor of the church, whose name occurs the eleventh in order. He was born and educated in England,

¹ Winthrop's Jour. I. 39.

² Note 19.

and previously to his removal to this country, he had been a minister in Lincolnshire, his native county, where Johnson says he was commended for his courteous speech and work of Christian love. His subsequent history will be given hereafter.

Before proceeding further in the history of the church, it may be proper and interesting to give some account of the general aspect of the town and the external conveniences of the people, as they may be gathered from the hints afforded us in the town records.

That part of the peninsula, east of Main street, was the great corn field, commonly called the East field; each inhabitant was entitled to two acres to plant; and the field was enclosed by a fence which extended from Thomas Walford's on the south side of the town hill over to the east creek of the town, and at the other end by a fence from Ralph Mousall's, (whose house was probably built highest up on Main street,) carried along by the high-way to the neck, where it met the Mystic. The town was laid out around this hill, and most of the houses were built here, and along the road to the country, which run in the general direction of Main street.

The first place for Sabbath assembly was under the shade of a great oak, which grew on this hill, or in the square, and which stood for many years afterwards and was celebrated as the Charlestown oak. After the organization of the church, the great house, which was now no longer used as a government house, was purchased of Governor Winthrop and the other proprietors for the sum of £10, and fitted up for the meeting-house of the town. It stood at the foot of this hill in the square, and was occupied by the church, until 1639, when it was sold, and a new meeting-house erected on the same spot.¹ Four individuals were admitted to the church before the close of the year; and in January the first baptism took place, which was that of the pastor's son, John, the son of Thomas and Elizabeth James.

"At this time," say our town records, "began a most grievous and terrible sickness amongst the Indians, who were exceedingly numerous about us, called the Aberginians. Their

¹ Note 20.

disease was generally the small pox, which raged not only amongst these, but amongst the eastern Indians also, and in a few months swept away multitudes of them, both young and old. They could not bury their dead, the English were constrained to help, and that which is very remarkable is, that though the English did frequently visit them in their sickness notwithstanding the infection, it was observed that not one Englishman was touched with the disease; but it was extraordinarily infectious among themselves, and mortal where it took any of them, insomuch that there was scarce any of them left." The account which Johnson has left us of the ravages of this pestilence, is painful in the extreme. "The poor creatures, being very timorous of death, would have fled from it, but could not tell how, unless they could have gone from themselves." "Relations were little regarded among them at this time, so that many who were smitten with disease died helpless, unless they were near and known to the English: their powwows, wizards, and charmers, were possessed with the greatest fear of any. The winter's piercing cold stayed not the strength of this hot disease, yet the English endeavoring to visit their sick wigwams, helped them all they could, but as they entered one of their matted houses, they behold a most sad spectacle, death having smitten all but one poor infant, which lay on the ground sucking the breast of its dead mother, seeking to draw living nourishment from her dead breast."¹

And here it is a pleasing duty to stop awhile and contemplate this exhibition of humanity and Christian love. We look around us and imagine that we see "the matted houses" of the Aberginians still standing within the forest, and the pilgrims regardless of infection approaching the sick and dying, (from whom their own kindred had fled with savage amazement,) alleviating their sufferings, if not rescuing them from death, and endeavoring to enlighten and comfort their benighted souls with Christian instruction and hope. Governor Winthrop says, it made a deep impression upon their hearts, "that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came frequently and ministered unto them."

In the month of December 1633, this disease attacked John

¹ Won. Work. Prov. ch. xxv.

Sagamore,¹ the Aberginian chief, "whose gentle and good disposition, gave the earliest planters a free consent to settle here." At his own request he was carried among the English, by whom he was kindly received, and in his last hours was attended by the best and most honored of the pilgrims. He requested that his two sons might be taken and taught "to know God; and accordingly the governor took one, and Mr. Wilson the other" to their respective homes.² The dying chief gave the governor a good quantity of wampompeague, or Indian money, and besides making gifts to many others, provided for the payment of all his own debts and those of his men. He promised, if he recovered, to live with the English, and serve their God; and when he died, it was in the persuasion that he should go to the Englishman's God. And in the same manner, we are told, that many of them, in their sickness, confessed that the God of the pilgrims was "a good God, and that if they recovered, they would serve him."

Thus passed away the race, whose lands we inherit, and upon whose graves we have built the sepulchres of our fathers; and thus died in the bosom of Christian benevolence, and in the indulgence too of Christian hope, the last of the Aberginians. What inhabitant of Charlestown does not involuntarily drop a tear over the death of the gentle John Sagamore, whose boyhood was spent in the oak forests of Mishawum, and who welcomed, with such unsuspecting friendship, the pale stranger to share with him his home and his dominion. Alas! how hard has been their fate. The very light of civilization and Christianity, seems to have dissipated them; they have passed away like mist over the western hills, when pierced by the rising sun. But we have a bright page to read, in the history of the pilgrims' dealings with the sons of the forest. They came to this country not merely to find freedom and a home for themselves, but also to bring to the Indian a knowledge of his God and Saviour. And in this connection it is a pleasing duty, to state that our fathers obtained the lands upon which they settled, by fair purchase. They did not deny to the Indian his rights, nor forget justice in dealing with him.

There is on record a written agreement, under date of April

¹ His Indian name was Wonohaquaham. See Dudley's Letter, p. 6, Force's Hist. Tracts, II.

² Compare Won. Work. Prov. ch. xxv. with Winthrop's Jour. I. 120.

15, 1639, by which Web Cowit and Squaw Sachem, after making certain reservations to themselves, sell to the inhabitants of this town, the land within the lines granted to them by the court, and in full satisfaction they acknowledge to "have received from Charlestown, 21 coats, 19 fathom of wampum, and 3 bushels of corn."

When it is remembered that the providence of God had swept away the great majority of the race, and that these lands could therefore have been of little intrinsic value to them, it will be seen that the compensation paid by our fathers was not only fair but even generous, and must have been so regarded by the Indians themselves.

To return now to the history of the church. The settlement of Mr. James appears not to have been a happy one. After a little more than a year, we learn from Governor Winthrop, "a spirit of jealousy arose between Mr. James and many of his people, so as Mr. Nowell and some others who had been dismissed from Boston, began to question their fact of breaking from Boston, and it grew to such a principle of conscience among them, as the advice of the other ministers was taken in it, who after two meetings, could not agree about their continuance or return."¹

It is difficult to understand how Mr. Nowell or any one else could have questioned the fact of their having been regularly dismissed from the Boston church; and it would seem probable, therefore, that they desired a return to the mother church in consequence of dissatisfaction with the ministrations or temper of their pastor.

It is obvious that a want of harmony existed between pastor and people, and this dissatisfaction, no doubt, led them to seek the settlement of a teacher among them, who should supply the deficiencies of their pastor. This they were enabled to accomplish the following year by the arrival of the Rev. Zechariah Symmes. He was admitted to the fellowship of the church, with Sarah his wife, on the 6th of December, 1634, and on the 22d of the month, which was kept as a solemn day of humiliation, he was elected and ordained teacher. Soon after he came over, he was invited to assist in planting another

¹ Winthrop, I. 127.

church of Christ, but in consequence of the place being remote from the ministers already settled, he chose to accept the call of this church.¹

Mr. Symmes was born in Canterbury, England, April 5, 1599, His father, the Rev. William Symmes, was ordained in 1588, and exercised his ministry at a period in English history, when it exposed him to great suffering. His grand parents were persons of piety, and befriended the Protestant clergy during the Marian persecution. He received his education in the University of Cambridge, and gave evidence of piety at a very early period of life. After leaving the university, he was chosen in 1621 to be a lecturer at Atholines in London; but being frequently harrassed by processes from the Bishops' courts, for his non-conformity to certain instituted ceremonies of public worship, he removed to Dunstable in 1625, and thence, his troubles still continuing, to this country.² Johnson bestows marked praise upon his wife Sarah, "whose courage," he says, "exceeded her stature," being "indued with graces which fitted her for a wilderness condition," and "undergoing with much cheerfulness the difficulties of those times of straits."

Previously to the admission of Mr. Symmes, fifty-four had been received into the church, twenty-five males and twenty-nine females; and sixteen had been baptized, nine males and seven females.

In about a year after the settlement of Mr. Symmes, the difficulty between the church and their pastor, Mr. James, came to a crisis, and resulted in his dismission.

A council was convened in March, 1636, composed principally of ministers, who were sent by the churches as being best qualified to judge in the case of a fellow minister.

It seems that Mr. Symmes and many of the brethren had taken offence at certain remarks of the pastor, and had dealt with him both in public and private, but without receiving satisfaction. Upon the hearing of the whole case, the council judged that "the pastor (by his natural temper a melancholic man and subject to jealousies) had been to blame, for speaking as of certainty, that which he had only conceived out of

¹ Johnson's Won. Work. Prov. ch. xxxii.

² Mather's Mag. I. 414.

jealousy ; and also that the rest had not been without all fault, for of the two witnesses produced against him, one was the accuser. They advised, therefore, that if the breach could not be healed, the "pastor and such as sided with him, should ask a dismission," and this was accordingly done.¹

Although these facts compel us to believe that Mr. James was chiefly to blame, yet the distance of time at which we are removed from the transaction, should cause us to form as favorable an opinion as the circumstances will allow.

After Mr. James's dismission, which may be dated on the 11th of March, 1636, he removed to New Haven, where he was employed in teaching, until 1642, when he joined Rev. Mr. Knowles of Watertown, and Mr. Thompson of Braintree, who were on their way to Virginia, in compliance with very urgent letters which had been received in Boston from that colony, requesting that able and pious ministers of the gospel might be sent to them. They were received very affectionately, and gladly heard by the people, but returned in about a year, in consequence of the interference of the government of the colony, who would allow none but such as were episcopally ordained, to exercise the functions of a Christian minister.²

This enterprise is interesting, as the first home missionary undertaking, and awakened deep interest at that time in Boston.

After this Mr. James returned to England, and was settled in the parish church of Needham, but resigned his charge August 24, 1662, because he could not in conscience approve of the ceremonies which were then imposed upon the ministers of the established church in conducting the public worship. After his ejection he gathered a Congregational church, and had a pretty numerous society. He lived to a very advanced age, and was regarded as a very holy good man.

It is a painful proof of the extremes to which religious intolerance went in those days, that "when he died, the clergyman who came in his place would not allow him to be buried in any other part of the church-yard, but that unconsecrated corner left for rogues and excommunicates ; though the clergyman owed his benefice to the noble uprightness of Mr. James's heart." ³

¹ Hubb. 190. Winthrop, I. 132. ² Bacon's Hist. Dis. 57. Hubb. 410. ³ Prince, 413.

Some writers have confounded Mr. James with his son, Rev. Thomas James, who in 1648 was settled in East Hampton, Long Island, the first pastor of the church in that place, where he died, 1696.¹ His grave is to this day an object of interest to strangers who visit the church-yard of that ancient town, from the peculiarity of its situation; it is apart by itself, with its head-stone towards the east, while all the other dead are laid with theirs towards the west. He is said to have been a faithful and successful pastor, and that to fix his counsels in the hearts of his people, and remind them that they must meet him again, he gave it in charge to his friends on his death-bed, that they should bury him (on the east side of the grave-yard) with his head to the east, in the opposite direction from that in which his people were laid, that in the morning of the resurrection he might meet them face to face.²

For the purpose of exhibiting the state of religion at this period, it is necessary to give some account of the synod of 1637, the first convened in New England. The occasion of this assembly was the dissemination of certain religious tenets, regarded by our fathers as at variance with the gospel; they originated with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who came to this country in the same ship with Rev. Zechariah Symmes.

"This gentlewoman," says Hubbard, "was of a nimble wit, voluble tongue, eminent knowledge in the Scriptures, of great charity, and notable helpfulness, especially in such occasions, where those of that sex stand in need of the mutual help of each other; which was the opportunity usually taken for insinuating into the spiritual state of those she came amongst, telling them of the danger of being under a covenant of works; by which means the affections of those that labored under wants, and bodily infirmities, were notably prepared to become susceptible of any moral impressions; especially such as seemed to tend to the exalting of free grace, and depressing of the creature and leaving all for Christ to do, and as when the devil attempted to ruin mankind by the insinuation of a new divinity, he began with Eve, and by her surprised her husband; the same course is still found the most successful for that end: and was to admiration at this time verified in and about Boston."³

¹ Note 21.

² New York Observer, vol. xx. 130.

³ Hubb. Hist. p. 283.

It is not necessary, and would be exceedingly difficult if not impossible, to define precisely the points of difference between the Hutchinsonians and the great body of the people and clergy who opposed them; they were, when theoretically considered, extremely subtle, to be apprehended by those only whose minds are well informed on theological subjects and trained to metaphysical distinctions. "Tis believed," says Mather, "that multitudes of persons, who took in with both parties did never to their dying hour understand what their difference was: by the same token, in the height and heat of all the difference, when some ships were going from hence into England, Mr. Cotton in the whole congregation, advised the passengers to tell our countrymen at home, that all the strife here was about magnifying the grace of God; the one person seeking to advance the grace of God *within* us, as to sanctification; and another person seeking to advance the grace of God *towards* us, as to justification; and Mr. Wilson stood up after him, declaring on the other side, that he knew none that did not labor to advance the grace of God in both."¹

But notwithstanding the small difference of the opposing opinions, and "though the truth might easily have united both," there grew at length to be a wide difference in doctrine as well as spirit, some among the advocates of the new opinions falling into gross and destructive errors; this however may have been the consequence of heated controversy and partizan warfare. It is incredible at the present day what intense excitement the new opinions created, and to what extent the civil as well as religious affairs of the colony were involved. "The expedition against the Pequot Indians was most shamefully discouraged, because the army was too much under a covenant of works; and the magistrates began to be contemned, as being of a legal spirit, and having therewithal a tang of anti-Christ in them; nor could the ordering of town lots or town rates, or any meetings whatsoever escape the confusions of this controversy."²

At first the ministers, "awakened by these noises about the temple," had several meetings, but without effect in composing the differences; and then the General Court called a synod of

¹ Magnalia, II. 440.

² Magnalia, II. 441.

all the churches in the country. The synod met at Cambridge (then called Newtown) 30th of August, 1637, and was composed of about twenty-five ministers, together with delegates from the churches, and the magistrates of the colony. The moderators were the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, and Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, "two as able and judicious divines as any the country afforded."¹

In the first place, the erroneous opinions that were prevailing among the people, were reported to the assembly by a committee, and then were debated; one day was given for the defendants, another for the opponents, after which the synod came to a result. Eighty-two erroneous opinions and expressions, which had been uttered in the country by several men at several times, were condemned. Some were offended at the number of the errors charged, and demanded who the authors were; denying that such errors existed, and that to say so was a slander upon the country. But whatever may have been true in regard to the existence or prevalence of these errors, they were condemned by the synod unanimously.

After this a conference ensued between Mr. Cotton, teacher of the church in Boston, who was regarded as having encouraged the Hutchinsonians, and the synod, for the purpose of establishing an agreement between this great divine and his brethren. Five questions were proposed to him, respecting "the order of things in our union with the Lord Jesus Christ; the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness; the use of our sanctification in evidencing our justification; and the consideration of our Lord Jesus Christ by men, yet under a covenant of works."²

"In the first handling of these questions," says Winthrop, "either party delivered their arguments in writing, which were read in the assembly, and after, the answers to them, which spent much time without any effect; but after they came to open dispute, the questions were soon determined; for so they came to understand each other better."³

Before the synod broke up, on the last day of the session, the public exercising of women's gifts, in a set assembly, as had been the practice of Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been ac-

¹ Hubbard, p. 299.

² Magnalia, II. 444.

³ Winthrop's Jour. I. 239.

customed to meet sixty or more every week, to resolve questions of doctrine and expound Scripture, was agreed to be disorderly and without rule.

It had also been the custom in many congregations for the ministers to allow their people to propose questions after sermon, and the practice having given rise to great abuses; it was decided that a private member might ask a question publicly for information, yet this ought to be done wisely, sparingly, and with leave of the elders; but for a member to reprove the doctrines which had been delivered, and reproach the elders, and that with bitterness, was utterly condemned.

In looking back upon the religious enthusiasm of this period, we may characterize the sentiments then embraced as belonging to the Antinomian school, and as quite similar both in their origin and moral influence, to the doctrines of modern perfectionism.

The assembly broke up on the 22d September, and on the 26th Mr. Davenport, who had just then arrived from England, and was soon after settled in New Haven, preached by previous request of the assembly from Phil. iii. 16, "Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." He laid down in his sermon "the occasion of differences among Christians, declared the effect and fruit of the assembly, and with much wisdom and sound argument persuaded all to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." The result of the synod was in an unusual degree productive of peace in the churches and good order in the community.¹

After the dismissal of Mr. James, Mr. Symmes, who had been settled as teacher, became the pastor of the church. The office of teacher was vacant for about three years; during a part of this time, however, the Rev. John Harvard supplied the pulpit as an assistant to Mr. Symmes.

This gentleman, whose munificent bequest to the cause of education has made him immortal by giving his name to the college at Cambridge, was admitted a member of this church with Anna Harvard his wife, 6th November, 1637, having on

¹ For a more minute account of the synod, see Winthrop's Journal, I. 237. Hubb. Hist. ch. xl. Mather's Mag. II. 440. 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 26.

the 6th of August been admitted a townsman, "with promise of such accommodations as we best can."

The confidence that was reposed in him by the inhabitants, is shown by their vote of 26th of April, 1638, by which "Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. Zechariah Symmes, Mr. John Greene, Mr. John Harvard, Lieut. Ralph Sprague and William Learned, were desired to consider of something tending towards a body of laws." In the distribution of land and privileges of commons, he was among the most favored inhabitants. The house which he occupied was near the meeting-house on the side of this hill, and was subsequently owned by the Rev. Thomas Shepard.

Mr. Harvard received the degree of M. A. from Emanuel college, Cambridge,¹ and died of consumption in this place, September 14, 1638. The sum which he bequeathed to the college was half his estate, and amounted probably to £779, 17s. 2d.

Johnson, who must have known him, as well as heard him preach, has composed a few verses upon him; the sentiment of which is, that "If Harvard could have been satisfied with the enjoyment of earthly riches, he would never have crossed the ocean; but the glory of Christ had so attracted him, that nothing would content his soul, short of an experience of his love. And then he calls upon him from the midst of his heavenly joys to tell of his blessedness among the saints. He says that Harvard preached and prayed with tears, and evidences of strong affection, and that his own heart had been delighted with his ministrations. Scarce had he opened his eyes upon the churches of Christ here, before he was called to eye that Saviour face to face; death drew him away from his scanty joys on earth, because the full joy for which he longed could only be found in heaven."²

The precise spot of his interment is at present unknown; but the summit of the burying hill has been appropriated to a monument to his memory erected by the graduates of the col-

¹ Harvard received his first degree, 1631, and became M. A. 1635. See Hist. Coll. 3d Series, vol. 7.

² Won. Work. Prov. B. ii. ch. xii.

lege, to which he has given his name, and of which he is justly regarded as the founder.

After the death of Harvard, which took place on the 14th of September, 1638,¹ Mr. Symmes was left without any stated helper in the work of the ministry, until about the year 1640, when the Rev. Thomas Allen was chosen and ordained teacher of this church.

This gentleman was born in the city of Norwich, England, in 1608, received his education in Caius college in Cambridge, and afterwards became minister of St. Edmund's in his native city; he was silenced by Bishop Wren in 1636 for refusing to read the Book of Sports. He came to this country at the age of thirty, and became a member of this church December 22, 1639; the date of his ordination has not been preserved, but it was probably in this or the following month.²

The number admitted to the church during the preceding five years from December 22, 1634, when Mr. Symmes was ordained, to December 22, 1639, was one hundred and three, forty-five males and fifty-eight females; the number baptized was seventy-three, thirty-six of whom were males.

During the period of ten or eleven years, in which Mr. Allen discharged the duties of teacher to the church, there is little certain information to be obtained respecting the state of religion. The devoted Eliot was successfully prosecuting his labors among the Indians, and his mission must have been calling forth the prayers and benefactions of our fathers. And it was during this period, in 1648, that the churches were called together in their second general synod, to form their ecclesiastical constitution. When our fathers arrived here, their views of church government and order, were as indeterminate, as their views in respect to civil government. There was no little diversity among them at first, and the unanimity of views that prevailed was chiefly owing to the powerful influence of Mr. John Cotton, teacher of the church in Boston, whose book entitled "The Book of the Keys," was by general consent adopted as a guide in regard to the order of the churches.

It seemed desirable that the views and practices of the

¹ Note 13.

² Note 22.

churches should be harmonized, and a general directory formed for the guidance of the churches in future. Accordingly the General Court passed a bill convening a synod, by way of invitation to the churches, rather than express command. Letters were sent to the churches in the Plymouth and Connecticut jurisdictions, and on the 15th of August, 1648, the council assembled, and in less than fourteen days completed the work assigned them. For the present, instead of framing for themselves a confession of faith, they received, for substance of doctrine, the one which had then been recently set forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster.

"Our churches here," say they, "as, by the grace of Christ, we believe and profess the same doctrine of the truth of the gospel, which generally is received in all the reformed churches of Christ in Europe, so especially we desire not to vary from the doctrine of faith and truth held forth by the churches of our native country. Now by this our professed consent and free concurrence with them in all the doctrinals of religion, we hope it may appear to the world, that as we are a remnant of the people of the same nation with them, so we are professors of the same common faith, and fellow-heirs of the same common salvation."

From the framers of the Westminster Confession, however, and the dominant party in England at that time, who were Presbyterians, they differed in regard to their principles of church order and discipline. The chief points of difference were these two; that none but visible saints should be received to the seals or sacraments; and that the decisions of the presbytery or classis, should be only advisory, and not authoritative, the consent of the brotherhood being necessary to make an act binding.

The Cambridge Platform, in which this synod resulted, is a lucid exposition of the principles of primitive Congregationalism; it became, so far as the independency of our churches would allow, the religious constitution of New England; and such in the main it still continues to be.¹ In point of execution it is

¹ See note 23. We are told by Mather that Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather, and Mr. Ralph Partridge were appointed by the synod, each of them to draw up a Scriptural model of church government, and that it was chiefly out of Mr. Mather's model the Platform was taken. Mather, vol. I. p. 409, II. 182.

unrivalled ; no document of the kind can be produced exhibiting more discrimination, or greater precision and strength of style ; and the principles, by which it is characterized, are a perfect vindication of our fathers from the charge of a selfish and aspiring ambition. No unprejudiced man can read this constitution of our churches without being convinced that its framers were men of elevated principles, as free from self-seeking, as they were opposed to the exercise of arbitrary power in others.¹ In the possession of solid learning and commanding abilities, they were too sure of possessing a better sort of influence, to hanker after that which is attached to place, and conferred by human enactment.

As I remarked in the last Lecture, most of our churches were formerly supplied with a teacher, a pastor, and one or more ruling elders. In the Platform, it is maintained that "the office of pastor and teacher is distinct. The pastor's special work is, to attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom ; the teacher is to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge ; and either of them to administer the seals of the covenant." And then they assert that "forasmuch as both pastors and teachers are given by Christ for the perfecting of the saints, and edifying of his body," they should both be considered church officers, and not the pastor for the church, and the teacher for the schools. One of the most prominent peculiarities of our fathers was an attachment to a learned ministry ; it was their aim—and in it they were successful—to have 'a scholar to their minister in every village ;' it was not enough for them to be exhorted and excited by extempore appeals from the sacred desk ; they looked to their ministry also for sound instruction, and treasures that were new as well as old. The religion they professed was eminently a thoughtful one ;—its foundations were laid in a personal examination of the word of God ; its superstructure was raised of truth cemented with searching intelligence ;—a religion as unlike to that which usurps the name of orthodoxy

¹ "The New England Platform of church discipline," says Dr. Eliot, "composed at the desire of the people by laymen and ministers, contains ideas as favorable to the wishes of the brethren as the pastors. In all disputes, where the ministers have been accused of making an improper use of their powers, or usurping authority, recourse has been had to their foundation of church government, and generally their opposers have been successful." 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. x. 2.

in many places, as is the rank and colorless mushroom unlike the oak ! The spirit of Puritan piety was a spirit of thought, of investigation, of learning.

Accordingly, during the earlier periods of the history of this church, the congregation enjoyed the labors of two ministers, one of whom was to instruct them with thoroughly studied sermons on the great problems of human life and salvation, the other to exhort them and visit them as a pastor. They did not expect both of these services from one and the same individual. They respected themselves too much to believe that they could be instructed by the easy labors of a man who was spending the greater part of his time in visiting them during the week. Their teacher they expected to be a student, and to make him such, they asked but one discourse a-week from him, and released him from the burden of pastoral visitations. What a contrast to the conduct of some few in our churches at the present day ! The duties of the teacher and pastor have been united ; the labors that were anciently assigned to two educated men, are now imposed upon one, and this too when the number of souls committed to his charge is twice as great, when the number of services expected from him on the Sabbath and during the week is much greater, and when he is under a moral necessity of devoting no small portion of his time and thoughts to one or more of the great benevolent associations of the age. Some, however, are found complaining of their minister, because his sermons are not replete with such instruction and eloquence as would require at least a week's labor ; or else because his visits are not as frequent as they suppose his duty and his usefulness require.

In addition to the teacher and pastor, each church was also supplied with a ruling elder, who was commonly an educated man, but did not derive a salary from his office. His duty was "to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule, which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments committed to them."

The ruling elder of this church, and the only one it ever had, was Mr. John Greene, one of the most prominent and influential inhabitants of the town, but of his election or ordination no record exists. He came to this country in 1632, and united with the church March 29, 1633, shortly after its organization,

and was probably soon after chosen elder, since the records of the church are in his hand-writing from its formation down to the period of his death, which took place April 22, 1658. His hand-writing occurs frequently upon the records of the town as well as the church; it is so distinct and beautiful, that it can be read with perfect ease even now after the lapse of more than two hundred years. His grave is on the highest part of the burying hill, and is covered by a tablet, which is now lying level with the ground and partly overgrown with grass at the foot of Harvard's monument. The tablet contains the following inscription.

"Here lieth the body of Mr. John Greene, born at London in Old England, who married Perseverance, the daughter of ——— Johnson,¹ in Amsterdam, by whom he had six children; with whom and their children he came to Charlestown, in New England, in 1632, was ruling elder of the church, and deceased April 22, 1658, aged 65, leaving behind two sons and one daughter, viz., John, Jacob and Mary, who erected this monument to the memory of him and his wife, their father and mother."

I shall carry the history of the church no farther in this discourse than the close of Mr. Allen, the teacher's ministry. This took place about the year 1650. But there is no record left us of the exact time of his dismissal, or of the causes which led to it. We have no reason, however, to think that there was any alienation of feeling between the teacher and his flock. Cotton Mather says that he approved himself a pious and painful minister of the gospel in this place, and was greatly beloved, as his name Allen imports, which is the English pronunciation of the Saxon word *alwine*, or beloved of all. After his return to England, he settled again in the ministry in the city of Norwich, but was again silenced in 1662 in consequence of non-conformity to the ceremonies of the church. After this he preached upon all occasions that offered, in a Congregational church in that city till the time of his death, September 21, 1673, aged 65.

Dr. Calamy says he was "a religious, able, practical preach-

¹ The Christian name of Mr. Johnson is obliterated from the tombstone. I think I can detect the final letter *s* however. This confirms me in the opinion that Rev. Francis Johnson, pastor of the English Puritan church in Amsterdam is meant; of whom, see notices in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*.

er." He composed and printed twice in this country a treatise entitled, "An invitation to thirsty sinners to come unto their Saviour." He also began a work in this country, which was highly spoken of for usefulness and learning, called a "Chain of Scripture Chronology," which he afterwards published in London, in 1659.¹ He also published a treatise on "The way of the Spirit in bringing souls to Christ," and several sermons on the glory of Christ, and the necessity of faith. There is also extant a letter of Mr. Allen's, dated Norwich, January 8, 1652, in which he bears testimony to the reality of the progress of the gospel among the Indians of New England, which seems at that time to have been called in question.²

From the period of Mr. Allen's admission to the church to May, 1650, one hundred and twenty-three persons were admitted to the church. In the year 1651, when Mr. Allen returned to England, there are no admissions recorded. The number of baptisms registered is only seventy-three; but the baptismal record is imperfect, stopping with September 20, 1642, after which for a period of seventeen years but one or two records are made, and these seem to have been entered by Mr. Symmes. For what reason elder Greene ceased to enter the baptisms after 1642, while he continued to record admissions to the church until 1656, it is in vain to conjecture.

Here I will drop the narrative, after I have given a description of the town, written by Captain Johnson, while Mr. Allen was still teacher, about 1650.

"The town of Charlestown is situated on the north side of Charles river, from which it took its name, the river being about five or six fathom deep; over against the town, many small islands lying to the sea-ward of it, and hills on either side. By which means it proves a very good harbor for ships, which hath caused many seamen and merchants to sit down there. The form of this town, in the frontispiece thereof, is like the head, neck and shoulders of a man, only the pleasant and navigable river of Mystick runs through the right shoulder thereof, and by its near approach to Charles river in one place makes a very narrow neck, by which means the chief part of

¹ A copy of this work is in possession of Rev. William Jenks, D. D., of Boston, which was presented by the author to Governor Bellingham, and contains his autograph.

² 3 Hist. Coll. iv. 194. See Note 24.

the town, whereon the most building stands, becomes a peninsula. It hath a large market place near the water-side, built round with houses, comely and fair, forth of which there issue two streets orderly built with some very fair houses, beautified with pleasant gardens and orchards. The whole town consists in its extent of about one hundred and fifty dwelling-houses. Their meeting-house for Sabbath assembly stands in the market place, very comely built and large; the officers of this church are at this day one pastor, one teacher, and one ruling elder, and three deacons; the number of souls about one hundred and sixty. Wonderful it is to see that in so short a time such great alterations Christ should work for these poor people of his. Their corn land in tillage in this town is about 1,200 acres, their great cattle are about 400 head, sheep near upon 400; as for their horse you shall hear of them, God willing, when we come to speak of their military discipline."¹

The same writer incidentally mentions "that a most terrible fire happened in Charlestown, in the depth of the winter of 1650, and was blown by a violent wind from one house to another to the consuming of the fairest houses in the town." This is the earliest mention of devastation by an element from which this town has suffered more than any other in the Commonwealth.

I will bring this Lecture to a conclusion by just observing, that the brief account we have already given of the early history of our fathers, shows with what singular earnestness and devotion they had consecrated themselves to the service of religion. Nothing more clearly evinces this than the constitution of their churches. Out of their deep poverty, and when they were but a little band, they cheerfully supported two thoroughly educated men, that they might enjoy the fulness of the blessings of the gospel of Christ. No people, probably, ever made greater sacrifices than did our fathers for the support of religious institutions. "My fathers and brethren," says Higginson, pastor of the church in Salem, in 1663, "this is never to be forgotten that *New England is originally a plantation of religion, not a plantation of trade*. Let merchants and such as are increasing *cent. per cent.* remember this. Let

¹ 2 Hist. Coll. II, 89.

others who have come over since at several times understand this, that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any man amongst us make religion as *twelve*, and the world as *thirteen*, let such an one know he hath neither the spirit of a *true New England* man, nor yet of a sincere Christian."

LECTURE III.

1 KINGS viii. 57, 58.

THE LORD OUR GOD BE WITH US, AS HE WAS WITH OUR FATHERS: LET HIM NOT LEAVE US, NOR FORSAKE US: THAT HE MAY INCLINE OUR HEARTS UNTO HIM, TO WALK IN ALL HIS WAYS, AND TO KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS, AND HIS STATUTES, AND HIS JUDGMENTS, WHICH HE COMMANDED OUR FATHERS.

In the last Lecture we pursued the history of the church, down to the close of Mr. Allen's ministry in 1650. In following the thread of the narrative to the death of Mr. Symmes in 1670, I shall have occasion to call your attention to the first case of discipline on our church records, which resulted in the formation of the First Baptist church in Boston, and also to the origin and nature of the so called half-way covenant, which had its commencement in the provisions of the synod of 1662.

After the return of Mr. Allen to England, the church was without a teacher until 1659, when the Rev. Thomas Shepard, son of the famous minister of the same name in Cambridge, was ordained to this office. For the period of eight or nine years therefore, Mr. Symmes was left alone in the ministry, with only such temporary assistance as the church were able to procure from time to time.

Mr. Shepard was admitted to this church on the 31st of October, 1658, by a dismission from the church in Cambridge. The account of his ordination is thus recorded by Mr. Symmes under the date of 13th of April, 1659.

"Mr. Thomas Shepard was ordained with prayer and fasting unto the office of a teacher to the church of Christ in Charlestown, by me Zachariah Symmes, pastor to the same church, Mr. John Wilson pastor to the church of Christ in Boston, and Mr. Richard Mather, teacher to the church of Christ in Dorchester, at the desire of our church joining with

me in laying on of hands upon the aforesaid Mr. Thomas Shepard; and Mr. Norton, teacher to the church at Boston, in the name of the rest of the messengers of four churches, to wit of Boston, Roxbury, Cambridge, Watertown, giving unto him the right hand of fellowship."

There was not perhaps among the many distinguished and excellent ministers in the days of our fathers, one more admired and beloved, than Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, who came to this country in 1635, bringing with him his infant son Thomas. He was received by the people with the greatest pleasure, and soon after his arrival, settled in Cambridge over a new church composed of the people that came with him and perhaps a few members remaining of the original church, who, with their pastor the Rev. Thomas Hooker, had gone to Hartford. Mr. Shepard died in 1649, at the age of 43, when his son Thomas was but a youth of 14, just completing his first year of collegiate study. He graduated in 1653, and was one of the first fruits of the college, as well as one of the most distinguished of those who received their education in this country. He was born in London, April 5, 1635, but was baptized in New England in the following February.

The settlement of Mr. Shepard was undoubtedly a happy one; his father's reputation, and the kindred virtues of his own character, must have greatly excited the expectations of the people; nor were these hopes disappointed, except by an early death, which cut him off in the vigor of life. But the period of Mr. Shepard's ministry was not one of entire harmony and peace. Religious differences, which had existed to some degree from the first, were becoming wider in the minds of the children of the new generation, who had never felt for each other that close sympathy, which bound the hearts of their fathers together, and which was the result of their common trials of faith and character.

One of the most decided tendencies of the Puritan faith and worship, was to excite the activity of the mind, and impel individuals to an examination of their religious doctrines and usages. Nothing therefore might have been predicted with greater certainty, than that a diversity of speculative views would ensue, after the pressure of persecution had ceased to

unite them by keeping their minds directed to a common danger. But our fathers did not expect this, and they were not prepared to meet the emergency. They imagined that their views were so scriptural, and their principles of government so just, that all dissent and resistance must spring from impure motives. The age in which they lived, had not yet wrought out the problem how to unite toleration with a vigorous defence of the truth; but they were upon the verge of that discovery, the twilight of the truth was about them, and hence the spirit of persecution appeared in them the more prominent and lamentable.

The subject of controversy in the church at this time was baptism; and when the somewhat casual and indecisive manner in which the Bible speaks of this rite, is considered, it is no wonder that a difference of opinion should exist in regard to it. Toleration on this point at least should be practised, as well as modesty in the expression of opinion.

The earliest case of discipline on record, is that of Thomas Gould, a brother of this church, admitted to its communion June 7, 1640, who, together with Thomas Osborn, had embraced the sentiments of the Baptists. He refused to bring his child forward for baptism, and in consequence of being admonished by the church, withdrew from its communion. The first account we have of the dealings of the church with him, is under the date of June 6, 1658. It was written by Mr. Symmes—Mr. Green, the ruling elder, having died about two months before; and as it is the only document left us by Mr. Symmes—Mr. Shepard, after his ordination recording the transactions of the church—I will transcribe it. It is also interesting and important in itself, inasmuch as it gave rise to a Baptist church, now the First Baptist church in Boston.

“Upon the 6th of 4th, 1658.

“Brother Thomas Gold, according to the agreement of the church the Lord’s day before, was called forth to give an account of his *long withdrawing* from the public ordinances amongst us, on the Lord’s day. It was asked brother Gold, whither he had any rule from God’s word so to do? or whither it were not a manifest breach of rule and order of the gospel?

“His answer several times was to this effect, that he had not

turned from any ordinance of God, but did attend the word in other places.

“It was then asked him, whither he did not own church-covenant, as an ordinance of God, and himself in covenant with this church ?

“He answered he did, but we had cut him off, or put him away by denying to him the Lord’s Supper, when only he had been *admonished*, and so now had no more privilege than an Indian, and therefore he looked not now at himself as a member of our church, but was free to go any whither.

“He was likewise blamed, that having so often expressed his desire to attend any light that might help him in his judgment and practice, about *children’s baptism*; that yet he should forbear, and stay away, when he could not but know, that his pastor was speaking largely to that subject. He confest his wife told him of it : and being asked how he could in faith partake of the Lord’s Supper, whilst he judged his own *baptism void* and null ? he owned it was so, as administered to him as a child ; but since God had given him grace, he now came to *make use* of it, and get good by it. It being replied that a person owned by all, as gracious, and fit for (the) Supper, is not yet to be admitted to it, till baptized : he said little or nothing to it, but spake divers things, generally offensive to the brethren, and would own no failing. Hence after much time spent, the brethren consenting, he was admonished for breaking away from the church, in way of schism, never having used any means to convince the church of any irregular proceeding, but continuing peremptorily and contumaciously to justify his schism.

“This transaction was speedily after the acting thereof truly recorded by the then only elder of this church ; Zech. Symmes, Mr. Green the ruling elder dying a little before.”

The course of discipline thus begun, was carried on for a series of years, and the several steps duly recorded by Mr. Shepard. Repeated admonitions were given by the church, but with no effect, until at length in 1665, Thomas Gould, and Thomas Osborn, together with a few other anabaptists, embodied themselves into a church ; after this they denied the authority of the church to summon them to appear before it, and gave three reasons for refusing to hold communion with

us, viz., " 1. Because of infant baptism. 2. Our allowing none but such as had *human learning* to be in the ministry. 3. Our *severe dealing* with those of a contrary judgment from us."

Notwithstanding the refusal of these persons to appear, the church voted to wait upon them with longer patience; and it was not until July, 1665, after repeated efforts made during a period of seven years, that they proceeded to the sentence of excommunication.

It deserves to be remarked here, that this act of excommunication was not passed against them, on the ground of heresy or a difference of views on the subject of baptism; but solely, in the words of the vote, "for their impenitency in their schismatical withdrawing from the church, and neglecting to hear the church." They had broken their covenant, and denied all connection with us; and this is held now as much as formerly, to be a sufficient ground for the highest censure of the church. We freely concede that a difference of views upon the subject of baptism is not sufficient ground for excommunication; and there is no evidence that it was ever regarded as such by the church. Nor is there any reason why pædo and anti-pædo baptists should not commune together, unless such undue importance is given to baptism, as to lead the parties to deny each other's church membership.

But the moderation of the church in their proceedings, evinces a better spirit than generally prevailed around them; and although they partook to some degree of the spirit of persecution, it is chargeable to ignorance and the temper of the age, rather than to bigotry and the love of persecution.

Gould and his associates were arraigned before the court of assistants and admonished for their "schismatical rending of the communion of the churches," and "setting up a public meeting in opposition to the will of the magistrates." After this, they were imprisoned for disobedience to the laws of the colony. It is due, however, to the character of our fathers to state, that this execution of the laws by the public courts aroused a sense of injustice in their breasts. Several of the inhabitants of this place and Boston, sent in a petition to the Court, praying for favor in behalf of Gould and others, but effected nothing, and subjected themselves to the censure of the authorities.

After this a conference was held between the Baptists and a number of the ministers, among whom were the pastor and teacher of this church, in the Boston meeting-house ; but it failed to restore harmony of opinion.

In concluding this brief account, it is due to the moral character of the persons thus excommunicated from this church, to say, that it was undoubtedly fair and Christian. Hubbard says, that "Thomas Gold and some of the rest, were men of a grave and serious spirit, and of sober conversations."¹

But while a few were restricting the privilege of baptism to adult believers, the people generally were studying how to extend it to the children of all baptized persons, whether in full communion with the church or not.

When the first settlers came to this country, they were church members, and of course, their children were all baptized. But, in the language of Cotton Mather, "when our churches were come to between twenty and thirty years of age, a numerous *posterity* was advanced so far into the world, that the first planters began apace in their several families, to be distinguished by the name of grand-fathers : but among the immediate parents of the grand-children, there were multitudes of well disposed persons, who partly through their own doubts and fears, and partly through other culpable neglects, had not actually come to the covenanting state of communicants at the table of the Lord. The good old generation could not without many apprehensions, behold their offspring excluded from the *baptism* of Christianity, and from the ecclesiastical inspection which is to accompany that baptism ; indeed it was to leave their offspring under the shepherdly government of our Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances, that they had brought their lambs into this wilderness."²

Hence arose the desire in a large and respectable portion of the community, to extend the privilege of baptism. They thought it "an unwarrantable strictness, which would abandon the greater part of the country to heathenism, to make no ecclesiastical difference between pagans who might happen to hear the word of God in their assemblies, and those who were desirous of renewing their baptismal covenant, and who would

¹ Note 25.

² Mag. II. 238.

submit to church discipline ; but could not come up to that experimental account of their regeneration, which was required in order to admission to the sacrament." Accordingly the practice was growing up in our churches of admitting this class of persons to the privilege of household baptism. But the innovation met with such opposition, that a synod of elders and messengers from all the churches in the colony was called for ; and agreeably to the appointment of the General Court, it was convened at Boston in the spring of 1662.

The influence which the decisions of this synod had upon the religious character and usages not only of this church but of the New England churches generally, was so great and so long continued, that I shall offer no apology for presenting to you a more particular account of this part of our history.

The leading question submitted to the decision of the synod, was this ; — "Who are the subjects of baptism ?" But to this was joined another, "Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it ?"

The answer to the first question, was given in seven propositions, which were confirmed by extended arguments drawn from the Scriptures.

The substance of these propositions was,—that 'according to Scripture, the members of the visible church are subjects of baptism ;—that the members of the visible church are such as have made a profession of their faith in particular churches, together with their children, who are members of the same church with their parents, and when grown up are personally under the watch of that church ;—that these adult persons, however, are not to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are members, without any further qualifications ; but when they understand and publicly profess the faith, are not scandalous in life, and solemnly own the covenant before the church, giving up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subjecting themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized.' This was the point upon which the opinion and practice of the churches differed, and in regard to which the controversy arose.

The answer of the synod to the second question, seems to have been universally satisfactory. It asserted the full power

and authority of each individual church, to administer all the ordinances of Christ, without being under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever: it also laid down the duty of the communion of churches, defined its nature, and recommended a method of consociation, which was advisory rather than authoritative.

The answers of the synod to the questions proposed, being returned to the General Court, were read over by them, and on the 8th of October, 1662, "commended to the consideration of all the churches and people of this jurisdiction," and for that end ordered to be printed.

The action of this church, in respect to the result of the synod, is thus recorded by Mr. Shepard the teacher, and is the first entry made by him of the doings of the church. *February 4, 1663.* "The decision of the late *synod* about { ^{Baptism,} _{Consociation,} } was read, by the elders, at a church meeting (except the preface of the book containing that decisive act, which had been read before at a church meeting, January 7th, 1663, and generally approved) and liberty given to the brethren to express their objections (if they had any) against any part thereof: and after some discourse, the brethren did generally express themselves (at least three fourths of them by word of mouth) that they did consent to the whole book for the substance thereof, and desired that the will of God therein might be attended; and upon a vote *silentiary* propounded, it was so carried, nemine contradicente, in the affirmative."

The *silentiary* method of taking this vote—which was by calling upon those who dissented to express their objections—will account for the fact that it passed unanimously in the affirmative. There were, no doubt, some who disapproved of the change recommended by the synod, and there seems to have been a delay in carrying it into effect. For, under date of November 27, 1664, we find the following record by Mr. Shepard. "There having been many thoughts of hearts touching the doctrine of the late *synod* about *the children of the church* in order to the effectual practice of the same; it was propounded to vote whether the brethren were satisfied so far forth as that there might be a proceeding to the practice thereof, and it passed in the affirmative by their *silence* (the testimony of their consent) after liberty was granted once and

again to any of them, that would, to object if they had any thing from the word of God to allege against it ; but there was not one contradictent."

But while a good degree of unanimity was prevailing in this church, the people generally were much divided in their opinions. The church of Boston received the doctrine of the synod, and proceeded "to practice according to its recommendations ; but a considerable number of the brethren were dissatisfied."¹ A division was prevented, however, by the influence of the pastor, the Rev. John Wilson, who had been a member of the synod, and subscribed its result. This venerable man died in 1667, and the church became vacant for the first time.

Those who were a minority under Mr. Wilson, now became a majority, and succeeded in electing for his successor, the Rev. John Davenport, who was "the greatest of the anti-synodists." To this procedure a large and very influential portion of the church were opposed ; they were friends of the synod, and to the number of twenty-eight, seceded from the First church, and formed a new church, now known by the name of the Old South. This church was organized in Charlestown in the month of May, 1669, after having received the sanction of a council of ministers, who publicly testified their disapprobation of the conduct of the old church, among whom were Mr. Symmes and Mr. Shepard, the pastor and teacher of this church.²

This was the great event of the day. It occasioned much excitement, and divided the whole colony into two parties, the friends of the old and friends of the new church, the latter of whom were in favor of the synod, and the former against it. It was not long, however, before the churches settled down with great unanimity upon the practice recommended by the synod.

Upon our records, besides the catalogue of persons in full communion, we have the "names of such children of the covenant, as have publicly *renewed their covenant* with God and this church, yet not taken into communion in the Lord's Supper ;" and in a separate list, the "names of such as have

¹ Hist. of First church.

² Note 28.

been *admitted* into this church, but not unto full communion." The distinction between these two classes, seems to have been that the first were members of the church by infant baptism; and the second were baptized at the time of their admission.

On 16th July, 1665, Daniel Edmunds and three other persons, renewed their baptismal covenant, and were thus admitted to the privilege of baptism for their children, but not to the Lord's Supper. This practice was continued in the church until 1793; in the beginning of that year, a committee was appointed, consisting of Rev. Dr. Morse, Richard Devens, Esq., Dea. Larkin, Dea. Millar, Dea. James Frothingham, Mr. Joseph Hurd, Mr. Barnabas Barker, Dr. Putnam, and David Wood, Esq., to take into consideration the expediency of departing from this usage. Their report is interesting and valuable, as exhibiting the practical results of the "half-way covenant," as it is called, and the necessity that grew up for a return to the original practice of our churches.

The committee, after ascribing the origin of their practice to the seven propositions of the venerable synod of 1662, and expressing their satisfaction with the plan, if it could be carried out according to the intention of its framers, although they regard the original principle of limiting the privilege of baptism to the children of communicants, as less liable to be abused, proceed to show in what respects their actual practice differed from the one recommended by the synod. The synod regarded the children of believing parents baptized in infancy, not only as visible church members, but also as "personally under the watch, discipline and government of the church, of which their parents were members." And when they grew up, and renewed their covenant, and received the privilege of baptism for their children, they were required to *subject themselves to the discipline and government of the church*. And when the plan of the synod was first carried into effect, privileges and obligations were united; they who received baptism held themselves accountable to the discipline of the church. Accordingly, after the adoption by this church, of the plan recommended by the synod, we find accounts of the discipline of persons described as "children of the covenant, but not in full communion." The first case of discipline of this sort, deserves to be mentioned, as an evidence that the plan of the

synod in its true spirit and meaning, was, as stated in the report, essentially different from the half-way covenant of more modern times.

"September 1, 1667. Our pastor," says the teacher, Mr. Shepard, "acquainted the church with the complaint which had been made to us concerning the scandal of Jno. Lowden, (our br. Serjeant Lowden's eldest son,) and that we had examined it, (referring to his *striking* the constable and watchman late in the night, when he was inflamed with *drink*,) and that we intended according to rule to deal with him in a church way; and that if any of the brethren had any thing to object against it they had their liberty; but none replying, their silence was taken for a testimony of their consent that he should so be proceeded with."

On the following Lord's day, agreeably to the usage of the fathers, "the assembly, before the pronouncing of the benediction in the afternoon, was made acquainted with the offence in question, and the young man, being called forth, made confession of his sin." Inquiries were then made of him, and liberty given to the brethren to object if any of them were not satisfied. "At length," it was voted, "that the repentance held forth by the offender was satisfactory for the removing of the offence that had been given to the church, so that they would forgive him, and still confirm their love towards him." And "so it was declared by the eldership that he was restored."¹

This act of discipline seems to have been conducted in the spirit of kindness, and been productive of a salutary reformation. And there is no reason to doubt, that in all similar cases, where the parents of the offender were in full communion, the watch and discipline of the church might have been exercised with equally good effects. But the difficulties in the way of administering discipline to those children of the covenant, whose parents were not communicants, were so great and numerous, that it was soon entirely neglected.

"Baptized persons among us," say the committee, "have not been accustomed to consider themselves as church members,

¹ Six months after this, he was admitted a member in full communion. He seems afterwards, however, to have relapsed into intemperance, for which he was publicly admonished, July 25, 1674, and excommunicated, January 10, 1675.

or subjects of the watch and discipline of the church ; nor have they for many years past, been thus considered and treated by the church. The consequence has been, that baptized persons, unregarded by the church as her children, have been suffered to grow up, and to live in the practice of scandalous sins, unrebuked, and without any pains taken to reform them ; of course all difference between them and the unbaptized, so far as respects the great privilege of being under the watch and care of the church is destroyed, and this part of the church (if we consider them as members) has, in consequence of this neglect, become exceedingly corrupt."

"These things being so," the committee were of opinion, that "an attempt *at once* to correct these abuses, and to revert completely back to the primitive practice, would in the present state of the minds of the people, produce unwarrantable schism in the congregation."

They therefore conclude by recommending the following plan. "That persons wishing the privilege of baptism for themselves and their children, be propounded to the congregation, and if no objection be offered, they shall be entitled to the privilege by subscribing a 'Declaration of faith in the Christian religion.'"
This plan was followed during the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Morse, but gradually fell into disuse, and was never acted upon after his dismissal. Since that time, the uniform practice of our church has been what it was before the synod of 1662, to confine the privilege of household baptism to members of the church in full communion.

The only occasional vote of the church I find recorded during this period, illustrative of primitive usages, is the following :

"April 22, 1666. A church act for the provision for the *Lord's Table*; viz : That at the beginning of every $\frac{1}{2}$ year, each communicant shall bring in 12*d.* to the deacon's box for the $\frac{1}{2}$ year that is to ensue respectively : and the year to begin (in order to this) the next sacrament day, which is May 6th, 1666. Voted in the affirmative by the silence of the whole church."

The venerable Symmes, the aged pastor of the church, was now drawing near the close of his long and faithful life. He was about seventy years old, and the infirmities of age having

incapacitated him for the active performance of his duties, the church was led to seek another helper in the ministry. In the year 1669, the Rev. John Oxenbridge, one of the most popular preachers and elegant writers of his time, was employed for awhile, and with so much acceptance, that a strong desire was manifested to secure his services in the ministry. On the 8th of October, 1669, "The church met at about 10 of the clock in the forenoon," and passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Oxenbridge, "for his laboring in the ministry of the word among us hitherto;" and "invited him to continue therein awhile longer among us every Sabbath day, that so the mind of God may be further discovered with reference to our intention (God willing: as the Lord shall make way in his and our hearts), in convenient time (being mutually satisfied in each other), to call him to office-work in this church." "It was also voted at the same time, that our honored magistrate Mr. Russell, Capt. Allen, and our deacons with the elders, would presently acquaint the Rev. Mr. Oxenbridge with the aforesaid invitation." His answer, however, was in the negative; and they made a second attempt, "to take off Mr. Oxenbridge's reasons against abiding with us, and to gain his granting our request," but with no success, for they found he had the day before "left his answer with the elders of the First church in Boston, in the affirmative to their invitation of him to themselves, and that he was resolved to go over to them." Mr. Shepard has appended to this record, the initials D. R.! (with a point of exclamation,) probably for *Deus Regnat!* God reigns!—an indication of the severe disappointment the teacher and the church received from this decision. In the following spring Mr. Oxenbridge became pastor of the Boston church, and died after a ministry of about four years. He was suddenly taken ill while preaching the Thursday Lecture, December 23, and died Dec. 28, 1674, æt. 65.

Not long after this unsuccessful attempt to secure the services of Mr. Oxenbridge, the Rev. Zechariah Symmes died, February 4, 1671,¹ within a month of completing his seventy-second year, and in the thirty-seventh of his ministry. Mr. Symmes deserves, if any one, to be called the father of the church. He

¹ Note 27.

was ordained its teacher two years after its organization, and upon the dismissal of Mr. James, became its pastor, and for a period of more than thirty years continued to discharge the duties of that office. He outlived most of those who extended to him the hand of friendship, when he arrived at these infant settlements; they had dropped away one after another; a few white haired old men might still be seen; but the more active and prominent men had been worn out by their severe privations, their anxieties and labors. The early planters of this town, who had settled him in the ministry over them, were gone; he had followed them one by one to yonder burying hill, and laid them down with words of prayer and consolation; and now a new generation—the children he had baptized—were bearing *him* forth to sleep in the midst of the congregation with whom he had lived. There are few things, in the private journals of the time, more affecting than the allusions they contain to the burial of the last remains of that first generation. The funerals of those days were conducted with great solemnity, and attended with a degree of expense which the straitness of their circumstances could but ill afford. The early settlers regarded it as an imperative duty to gather about the bier of each of their diminishing number; and it afforded them a melancholy pleasure to behold each other on occasions which seemed to re-unite them with their brethren who had departed. We can imagine we see one of these sable processions, as it moves slowly and silently along our streets; *slowly* and almost imperceptibly it advances, for the feeble and tottering are bearing a venerable form of their own to the tomb. We see them stand upon the burying-hill, their thin white locks floating upon the wind, and their trembling forms almost bending to the blast. The services ended, they seem reluctant to leave the familiar spot; they revisit the graves of their brethren, notice every change in the yard, and look with solemn thought upon the spot where they soon shall lie; they return to the house of mourning to recount the virtues of the departed—the scenes of trial and hardship through which they have passed—and then with the approaching darkness they separate, each feeling that for his own burial may be the next gathering of the fathers. It will be difficult for us to understand what

strength of attachment these patriarchs of New England felt for each other; with what increasing interest they watched their rapidly waning ranks; and how tenderly they grieved for one another, as a soldier for his companion in arms, and a Christian for his brother.

There were bonds of sympathy between the old men of the first generation, which did not and could not exist between them and their children of the second, or such as had arrived at a subsequent period. And there were important differences of character also between the two generations. The warm-hearted and self-denying piety of the fathers, threw into the shade the harsher features of their character; we reverence the one so much, that we readily cast the mantle of charity over the other. But their sons, as a generation, were not imbued with the same deeply religious spirit; and yet, as the forms and excrescences of religion are frequently retained after the life is gone, they were characterized by many of the repulsive peculiarities of the fathers, unredeemed by their high moral principle. I do not mean to say, that the spirit of Puritan piety was extinct in the hearts of their sons. Far from it. But, as I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, a decline of spiritual religion had commenced, which in the first place rendered the provisions of the synod of 1662 necessary, and afterwards perverted those very provisions to the still more rapid decay of practical godliness, and of the conservative influence of a watchful church discipline.

Permit me to present an extract from a sermon, delivered by the minister of Dorchester, before the assembled clergy and legislators of Massachusetts, shortly before the death of Mr. Symmes. It will give us some idea of the points of difference between the first and second generations. In pressing his exhortation, the preacher directs his remarks distinctly, first, to the remainders of the ancient stock among us; and, second, to the present generation.

"First, unto those who are yet abiding with us of the first generation of the Lord's faithful servants, those plants of renown wherewith God set his garden here at the first. Let me speak a few words unto you, *Fathers*, because you have known that which was from the beginning. You have had a long and large experience of things; you have seen all the great

works which the Lord hath done for this people ; you have been long rooted and satiated in the house of the Lord : as you ought to be, and are, so we esteem of you, and account you to be as a *crown* and an *honor* in the midst of us : trials you have seen, and trials you may yet further see, but your triumph is now at hand. You have by this time parted with most and the choicest of your contemporaries, your companions in the foundations of the work of Christ here ; and your eyes behold this day that another generation is risen up, and begin to stand thick upon the stage ; and that even of them, there is one, to whose lot it falls to speak to you in the name of the Lord this day. Now what is the sum of your desires, and would be the chief and top of your joys, as to those you must shortly leave behind you ? Is it not that your children after you may be found walking in the truth, owning the covenant of God, maintaining and upholding the same interest of holiness and reformation wherein you have been engaged before us. * * *

As long as you are in this tabernacle, stir them up by putting them in remembrance, that they may be established in all those truths and practices, which to own and abide in hath been New England's glory, and must be its preservation and safety in whatever times are coming upon us. You know what examples unto this purpose you have in Moses and Joshua and David ; the Lord plant in you the same love and zeal and care for the name of God and the welfare of your posterity, before you go hence and be seen no more."

And then turning to his brethren and companions of the generation risen and rising, he says :

"Look after the root of the matter in your souls. There are many outside custom-born Christians now-a-days. O let us get *good sound principles*, for want whereof the profession of so many hath run itself out of breath, and broke its neck. It hath been said that a loose Protestant is fit to become a strict Papist. A formal ungrounded professor, he will be fit for Satan's turn in these days. Plead and improve the Lord's covenant with you, and in special your baptism, the first seal of that covenant, that you may be established and made faithful with the Lord therein. If we forget and neglect the Lord in that wherein he begins with us, and first visibly takes hold of

us, no wonder if we make no progress, but sit loose from God all our days.

"Consider and remember always, that the books that shall be opened at the last day will contain *genealogies* in them. There shall then be brought forth a register of the genealogies of New England's sons and daughters. How shall we, many of us, hold up our faces then, when there shall be a solemn rehearsal of our descent as well as of our degeneracies? To have it published whose child thou art will be cutting unto thy soul, as well as to have the crimes reckoned up that thou art guilty of." ¹

Mr. Symmes appears to have been held in esteem by his contemporaries, and when we remember who they were, this is no small praise. In respect to ability and literary attainments, he appears to have been respectable; but if we are authorized to form an opinion from the slender information we possess respecting him, he was more distinguished for his practical talents and general usefulness. "He knew his Bible well," says Cotton Mather, "and he was a preacher of what he knew, and a sufferer for what he preached."

He was honorably interred at the expense of the town. His grave was "covered and set comlie," by a stone work laid in lime, together with a tombstone, procured by the selectmen and deacons, in compliance with a vote of the town. The epitaph, which is now entirely effaced by time, contained the following distich:

"A prophet lies under this stone:
His words shall live, though he be gone."²

¹ "New England's true Interest not to Lie." By Mr. W. Stoughton, preacher of the gospel in Dorchester. Preached in Boston, April 29th, 1668.

² Note 23.

LECTURE IV.

HEB. xiii. 7, 8.

REMEMBER THEM WHICH HAVE THE RULE OVER YOU, WHO HAVE SPOKEN UNTO YOU THE WORD OF GOD: WHOSE FAITH FOLLOW, CONSIDERING THE END OF THEIR CONVERSATION: JESUS CHRIST THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, AND FOREVER.

In our last Lecture we brought the history of the church down to the death of the Rev. Zechariah Symmes; this event left Mr. Shepard, the teacher of the church, alone in the ministry; the duties of which he continued to discharge without a settled helper till his death, in 1677. During this interval very little is to be gathered respecting our internal history. The church records only give evidence that discipline was faithfully maintained. From the town records a few miscellaneous items may be gleaned, indicative of the spirit and usages of the fathers. Under date of March 31st, 1670, "By order of the selectmen it was left with our deacons to gratify any minister called in to help Mr. Shepard on occasion of his weakness, and also that Mr. Shepard have £10 allowed him by the deacons in reference to entertaining of those who have been helpful to him for the time past." This vote was passed before the death of Mr. Symmes, and when the teacher, Mr. Shepard, was laid aside from his duties for a while in consequence of sickness. But I quote it as one of many evidences that the people procured for their pastor the assistance of a number of ministers, as they had occasion and opportunity. There is to be seen now in our burial ground the monument of the Rev. Thomas Gilbert, who came to this place from Scotland, in July, 1661, and soon after became the first minister of Topsfield. After his dismissal from that church, however, he returned to this town, and probably assisted Mr. Shepard during the sickness and some time after the death of Mr.

Symmes. He died in Mr. Symmes's house on the 26th October, 1673.*

After this the Rev. Joseph Browne, a minister of considerable distinction, was employed as an assistant to Mr. Shepard. He was the son of the Hon. William Browne, a merchant of Salem, and graduated at Harvard College, 1666, where he had a fellowship; he died May 9th, 1678, shortly after receiving a call to succeed Mr. Shepard in the ministry. The church also enjoyed the occasional services of Rev. Daniel Russell, a native of this town, and "son of the worshipful Richard Russell," who was admitted to the communion of the church, April 16, 1676. He graduated in 1669 at Harvard College, and was invited to succeed Mr. Shepard in the ministry, but died January 4, 1679. Ten pounds were allowed by the selectmen, out of the sum his father had bequeathed to the church, towards his funeral charges.¹

In the spring of 1672, the meeting-house was repaired and enlarged; and in 1675, galleries were built, doubtless for the first time.²

In the month of May, 1672, Mr. Shepard preached by appointment the election sermon. It was printed the following year at Cambridge, and is entitled "Eye salve, or a watchword from our Lord Jesus Christ unto his churches: especially those within the Colony of Massachusetts, in New England, to take heed of apostacy: or a treatise of remembrance of what God hath been to us, as also what we ought, and what we ought not to be to him, as we desire the prolonging of our prosperous days in the land which the Lord our God hath given us. By

¹ Note 29.

² Note 30.

* The following epitaph, which Mather says, Mag. I. 544, 'was in his day to be read upon Mr. Gilbert's tomb in Charlestown,' is still legible.

"Here is interred
the body of that reverend, sincere, zealous, devout and
faithful minister of Jesus Christ,
MR. THOMAS GILBERT,
sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ
at Chedle, in Cheshire; also sometime Pastor
of the Church of Christ at Eling, in Old England:
who was the proto-martyr, the first of the ministers that
suffered deprivation, in the cause of non-conformity,
in England; and after, betaking himself to
New England, became Pastor of the
Church of Christ in Topsfield;
and at sixty-three years of
age, departed
this life.
Interred October 28, 1673."

Thomas Shepard, teacher of the church of Christ in Charlestown; who was appointed by the magistrates to preach on the day of Election at Boston, May 15, 1672. Deut. viii. 10, &c.; v. 32, 33. Cambridge: printed by Samuel Green, 1673."

The sermon is a good specimen of the style of preaching of those days; and especially instructive, as giving some clue to the moral condition of the people. The preacher alludes frequently to the rising sentiment in favor of toleration, but opposes it strongly. It is obvious that at that time, the great majority of the educated and influential classes, were decidedly opposed to the principle of toleration, but that its friends were sufficiently numerous and earnest to press its claims upon the attention of those who guided or executed the public sentiment.¹ The text was taken from Jer. ii. 31, "O generation, see ye the word of the Lord: have I been a wilderness unto Israel? a land of darkness? Wherefore say my people, we are lords, we will come no more unto thee?"

After a long and labored explication of the text, he announces the doctrine, "That the undeniable experience which the covenant people of God have had of the Lord's being to them not a wilderness nor a land of darkness, but the contrary, should caution them never to incur the guilt of so unreasonable a sin and dangerous folly and provocation, as to revolt from under the Lord, or to be unwilling to return again in case they have begun to decline from him." This he supports by six reasons; and from it derives three uses, which he carries out under many divisions and subdivisions.

I will quote an extract from this discourse, under its third use, which was that of exhortation.

"Let the schools flourish. This is one means whereby we have been, and may be still preserved from a wild wilderness state, through God's blessing upon the same, and from becoming a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death. Cherish them therefore, and the college in special: and accordingly that there may be a seasonable (while affections are warm) and a faithful improvement of the contribution for the new edifice there, and what else is needful for the encouragement and advancement of learning in that precious society;

¹ Note 31.

the fall and sinking whereof (which the Lord forbid) I should look at as presaging the ruin of this land also : Let it never want a benign aspect for the flourishing of that dear nursery ; lest otherwise there come to be either no ministry, or an illiterate and (and in that respect in former times accounted) a scandalous and insufficient ministry, neither burning nor shining lights. Keep the good old way here experienced of a godly learned ministry, wherein the people of God have tried and found so much of the presence and glory of the Lord, crowning the same with so choice a blessing as he hath done : and God hath no need of a New Cart, or of Uzzah's hand to save the shaken ark ; nor did a good intention excuse him from death by God's immediate hand and stroke from heaven, when the Lord's institution is crossed in that matter.

" 2. Let the liberties of the churches also be preserved and maintained ; for the church is as a light upon an hill ; the people of God are to shine as lights in the world ; therefore thereby also the land is instrumentally kept from being a land of darkness. Let the scripturally unworthy be debarred the holy things in the sacrament, and, which they have no right unto by rule. 'Pulsent fores,' said Cyprian of old, &c., though they bounce at the door, yet let them not have it opened to them, till duly qualified for the same. There is much and may be more danger of such bold-faced hypocrites ; and therefore, O that no such intruders may be suffered to disturb and vex the dear people of the Lord in any of their just liberties ! and that a malignant spirit of prophaneness (which this poor people is in great hazard of feeling the woful impression of) may timeously be crushed, and so not permitted to blow out gospel light, even the lights of the sanctuary here. Nor let there be any *ludibria medicorum spiritualium*, or what may be any standing reproach to the healing ways and instruments of Jesus Christ here, seeing there is sufficient balm in Gilead provided by Christ for every spiritual disease in his church. Let not the way of the rigid Separatists, and the like, be acted over again here, till the churches be buried in confusion. In case of the divisions in churches, hath not the Congregational way balm for this wound appointed by Christ, but Morellius must be raked out of his grave to be the only physician ?

" 3. Let the ministry (who also should be instrumental, in

their sphere, to keep this land from becoming a land of darkness) be duly encouraged. There have been and are complaints this way respecting their outward subsistence in many places, (I bless the Lord I am not under any temptation therein, being liberally and abundantly well provided for by the good people I live among; and therefore I may speak the more freely and boldly for others,) I fear there is too sad neglect in divers towns. It was a sign Nehemiah was away when the Levites were fain to go into the fields, Neh. xiii. 6, 10, 11, when they are forced to turn to the meadow, to the cart, and to the plow, &c., or else they cannot live, or at least not live out of tormenting debt. Is this the fruit of God's being no wilderness to us? O generation, see the word of the Lord. Mind the example of good Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxxi. 4; he encouraged such; (O take heed that there be not on the other side found among us a discouraged ministry, respecting such I mean as are able and faithful ministers of the New Testament, who would gladly spend and be spent for their people;) 'He commanded the people,' (it is there said) and it was not therefore left as an arbitrary thing, or as an alms; and mind the fruit of it, i. e. v. 10, 'Since the people began to bring their offerings into the house of the Lord, we have had enough to eat; for the Lord hath blessed his people, and that which is left is this great store.' If particular churches or towns are really not able to supply the necessity of him that 'labors in the word' among them, should not such a poor people be relieved? might it not do well if some additional provision were made out of some public bank or stock for an honorable relief of such? and that thereby we 'bear one another's burdens'? and 'be we not deceived, God is not mocked' in this very matter. Gal. vi. 6, 7; 1 Cor. ix. 14; Ezra vii. 24, &c. Must they be rated *will and doom*? Ah, when men's hearts die to the word, no wonder if they soon die to the dispensers of it: and then 'what means this waste?' and proud, covetous, disingenuous, unwise, capacious, carping, bold, selfish spirits and principles will be stirring: and 'let us take turns to preach,' (and to govern the church also as moderators in it,) 'rather than have this costly service?' And 'what a weariness is it?' &c. If it must be so, should we wonder if the Lord take them away that are such a charge, and ease people of such a burden? Oh, 'muz-

zle not the mouth of' that 'ox that treadeth out the' spiritual 'corn.' And though anti-christian *begging friars* live by alms, yet let it not be said of a Protestant people, or of these churches, that they are so sordid in their spirits as to truckle under a mendicant ministry; and that will be a flattering and an unfaithful ministry at length, that is made to bow under the temptation of '*needing the alms of the people:*' and remember that a person or people may become guilty of *sacrilege* by withholding what is due this way, as well as by robbing or taking away that which is already dedicated or given in to God, Mal. iii. 8, and that withholding is there called robbery; though I am far from pleading here for the *quota pass* there spoken of in particular, but only as to the sin in general, the apostle ranks it with, yea aggravates that sin of sacrilege *above* idolatry in the New Testament. Rom. ii. 22."

The ministry of Mr. Shepard, as I have before said, was destined to be a short one. In the year 1677, the small pox prevailed very extensively in this place, and caused great mortality.¹ At that time it was so little under the control of medicine, that like the plague it spread death and consternation on every hand. To discharge the duties of a pastor at such a juncture, was to incur the loss of life. But Mr. Shepard, who since the death of the venerable Symmes had faithfully performed all the duties of a pastor to his people, was not deterred from continuing to discharge them in the midst of these dangers. One of his flock was taken with the disorder, and desired a visit from him. He went with his life in his hand, expecting to be arrested by the fatal contagion; as an elegy upon his death expressed it,

"Rather than run from his work, he chose to die,
Running on death, sooner than duty fly."

"Behold," says Mather, "a shepherd, who was '*vir sui nominis!*'" a man whose name expressed at once his character and his office.

"He tranquilly fell asleep in the Lord Jesus," says the Latin epitaph² upon his tombstone, "on the 22nd December,

¹ The names of ninety-one persons are registered as having died of this disease during the winter of 1677 and 8 in this town, and a special order was passed by the selectmen that the bell should on no account be tolled more than three times a day, because of the discouraging effect it had upon those who were sick of the small pox.

² Note 32.

1677, in the 43rd year of his age, wept over by the tears of all New England; and evermore to be lamented." He is described to have been "a very holy man, much distinguished for his erudition, his various virtues, and winning manners; a learned theologian, and eminent preacher: in his faith and life a true bishop: a meritorious promoter of the cause of letters, having been a watchful guardian of Harvard College, and a primary fellow of the academical government. He sought not his own, but the things of Jesus Christ."

The following verses were also inscribed upon his tomb.

Let fame no longer boast her antique things,
Huge pyramids and monuments of kings:
This cabinet that locks up a rare gem,
Without presumption may compare with them.
The sacred reliques of that matchless one—
Great Shepard,—are *enshrined* below this stone.
Here lies entombed an heavenly *orator*,
To the great King of kings ambassador:
Mirror of *virtues*, magazine of arts,
Crown to our heads and loadstone to our hearts:
Harvard's great son, and *father* too beside,
Charlestown's just glory and New England's pride:
The *church's* jewel, *college's* overseer,
The *clergy's* diadem without a peer:
The *poor man's* ready friend, the *blind man's* eyes,
The wandering wildered soul's *conductor* wise:
The *widow's* solace, and the *orphan's* father,
The *sick man's* visitant, or *cordial* rather:
The general *benefactor*, and yet rare
Engrosser of all good; the *man of prayer*;
The constant *friend*, and the most cheerful *giver*,
Most orthodox *divine* and pious *liver*:
An *oracle* in any doubtful case,
A master-piece of *nature*, *art* and *grace*.
In this bed lie reposed his weary limbs;
His soul's good company for seraphims.
If men be dumb in praising of his worth,
This stone shall cry, *for shame!* and set it forth!

And then as if these lines were altogether unworthy of their subject, a Latin distich is added, which declares emphatically, 'that if no verses but such as were worthy of Shepard, should be inscribed upon his tomb, it would be left without any.'

"Si Sheparde tuo, nisi quæ sint digna sepulchro,
Carmina nulla foreut, carmina nulla foreut."¹

¹ Mather's Mag. b. 4, ch. iv.

But notwithstanding the turgid extravagance of the epitaph, the warmth and energy of its expressions afford sufficient evidence that Mr. Shepard was held in the highest esteem and affection by his cotemporaries. He seems to have been beloved as well as admired. Cotton Mather tells us that "the whole country was filled with lamentations upon his decease;" and many expressed their feelings in the language of one of the many elegies bestowed upon him :

" Next to the tears our sins do need and crave,
I would bestow my tears on Shepard's grave."

At the next commencement, the Rev. Urian Oakes, President of the College, and the particular friend of Mr. Shepard, pronounced a warm-hearted and eloquent eulogium upon his character, in the course of a Latin oration, delivered before the alumni and officers of the institution. From this tribute to his memory, we learn that "he was possessed of undissembled piety and uncommon learning, united with modesty, amiable manners, and noted industry. His countenance was grave; his words well-considered and weighty; and his gestures becoming and unaffected. He was of a very sedate turn, sincere and open, possessed of a fertile mind, and a penetrating judgment, and distinguished for the mildness and sweetness of his manners."¹

Mr. Shepard's will has been preserved in the probate office, and bears date, June 5, 1676. It commences as follows:

"I, Thomas Shepard, being, through the Lord's mercy, in good health at this present, yet not knowing how soon my earthly house of this tabernacle may be dissolved, do therefore make my last will and testament as followeth, viz. committing my soul into the everlasting arms of my dear and blessed Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ, and believing the glorious resurrection of my body (after its decent interment) at the last day; and also leaving my dear wife, and my beloved children Thomas, Anna, and Margaret, to him who is the God of the widow and the fatherless, and is ever mindful of his covenant, and [as] he hath been my father's God and mine, so let him be theirs and their portion forever."

¹ Note 33. *Mather's Magnalia*, II. 102.

He left his books and writings to his son Thomas ; and bequeathed £5 apiece to his aged and honored schoolmaster, Mr. Elijah Corlet of Cambridge ; to his honored guardian Capt. Daniel Gookin, whom he chose at his father's death, when a lad of fourteen ; to his brother Jeremiah, and to his cousin Thomas Graves ; and to this church, "my dear Lord's precious flock" — the money to be expended for pieces of plate. The will concludes with the Latin and Greek words, "Pasce oves, Domine Jesu, *ἀρχιποιμεν.*" His estate was appraised to be worth £2,386 ; his library, £100.

Thomas, who is mentioned in the will, succeeded his father in the ministry, as will be mentioned hereafter. Anna Shepard was married to Daniel Quincy, and became the maternal ancestor of the venerable ex-president of the United States, their son, John Quincy, being the person after whom he was named.¹

The death of Mr. Shepard left the church without a minister for the first time. This vacancy continued for more than two years, during which, an unhappy division grew up among the people, and the church were unable to unite in calling a minister. They appear, however, to have united in extending a call to the Rev. Joseph Brown, already mentioned, but he declined for some reason, and removed to Boston. After this a call was given to Mr. Daniel Russell, of whom also mention has been made ; but to this a minority were so strenuously opposed, that a council was found necessary to compose the difference. Some very curious papers² have been preserved, respecting this case, in a collection by John Winthrop, first governor of Connecticut, whose brother-in-law was scribe of the council.

The council was formed on the 5th of November, 1678, and among their names may be found those of the governor and others most distinguished both in church and state.

One of the papers preserved is entitled, "A Brief Narrative of some of the most considerable Passages of this Church, and their several Committees acting since the death of our dear and revered Teacher, Mr. Thomas Shepherd, who departed this life the 22nd Dec. 1677." "This declaration was pre-

¹ Note 34.

² 3 Hist. Coll. I.

sented by the church, and after reading in the public meeting, was then voted by them as the substance of transactions in this matter."

From this official document, it appears, that soon after the death of Mr. Shepard, the church extended a unanimous call to Mr. Joseph Brown, as has been stated. After this, the committee were desired "to provide transient help for carrying on the worship of God on the Lord's days; and likewise some of the brethren desired, that they would use means to obtain a settled supply as soon as might be." At this time the committee had in view "Sir Shepard,"—the son of their late pastor, and "agreed to invite him to preach with us one sermon, that so, having a taste of the gifts and graces of God bestowed upon him, that then they might have the precedency of any other people in that matter. But it was concluded that they must apply themselves to the obtaining an officer sooner than he was like to undertake such a work." For this purpose the neighboring ministers were applied to for advice who might be the fittest man to propound to the church. "Capt. Laurence Hammond, Mr. John Heman, and James Russell, went to Watertown Lecture, and after lecture, went to the house of Mr. Sherman, where was also Mr. Willard of Boston; to whom they declared the matter, and desired their advice. Mr. Willard mentioned Mr. Woodbridge of Hominossett; but they replied, they were not willing to rob any place. Mr. Sherman then mentioned Mr. Daniel Russell, and Mr. Isaac Foster, and then concluded that Mr. Foster, was the fittest person they could think of at present. The Committee next went to Rev. Mr. Oakes's house, the President of Harvard College, and he recommended Mr. Foster. Accordingly Mr. Foster was propounded to the church the next Sabbath day. Nothing was said at this time about asking the concurrence of the young Mr. Shepard, and this subsequently became one of the sources of grievance on the part of the dissenting brethren. At the same time, liberty having been given to the church to propose any other person, the following candidates were nominated, Mr. Daniel Russell, Mr. Thomas Shepard, Mr. Samuel Nowell, Mr. Zechary Sims, Mr. Gershom Hubbard," (Hobart.) The church were desired to signify their choice at the next church meeting.

On the 19th May, 1678, Mr. Shepard preached his first sermon.¹ The week following, some were in favor of proceeding to give him a call, but Mr. Thomas Graves opposed it as being likely to prejudice his interests, and then it was concluded to endeavor to obtain another officer sooner than young Shepard was likely to be prepared.

On June 9, it being Sabbath, the church was staid in the evening, and Mr. Thomas Graves inquired of the church, if they had determined respecting any of the candidates mentioned. "Then Mr. Elias Maverick began, and propounded Mr. Daniel Russell, a person, whose parents were honorable amongst us, and he was brought up with us, and is one of this church, that we have had good satisfaction in, he judged to be a meet person. In this nomination, most of the brethren agreed. The committee were called upon to speak; some concurred, but Capt. Hammond declared that he judged it unreasonable, that they should be urged so suddenly to declare their thoughts, alleging that it was imposing upon them." After some discussion the meeting was adjourned to meet again after an interval of sixteen days.

At the next meeting, Mr. Shepard was propounded to be the first man to be called to office. This gave rise to a debate, the majority supposing that the meeting was called in reference to Mr. Russell. "Capt. Hammond intimated that they would run a hazard of losing Mr. Shepard, if they proceeded to call Mr. Russell. Most were for calling both Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepard at that time. But it was declared by Capt. Hammond, Mr. Graves, and Dea. Ludkin, that the church's proceedings were irregular, unreasonable, and out of the way of God." This gave rise to much discussion and excitement, and "so the meeting broke up without concluding anything."

On the 22nd of July, the matter was referred to the church, the committee being divided, four being in favor of extending

¹ He was at this time not quite twenty years of age. It was not five months since the death of his father; and he rose in the place from which his father had so recently fallen, to address his father's flock, — among whom he had been born, baptized, and nurtured. It must have been a solemn and affecting occasion, hardly less so to the people than the youthful preacher. With a judgment as much evincing his good taste as his filial affection, he chose for the text of his first discourse the following highly appropriate words: "He is my father's God, and I will exalt him." Ex. xv. 2. With such a text and on such an occasion he could not have failed to be eloquent. We are told that "he discoursed with a very charming, solid, and serious gravity."

a call to Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepard, and five against it. After some discussion who should be put to vote first, although the eyes of the church were upon Mr. Russell for present supply, yet, hoping to gratify some, it was agreed that Mr. Shepard should be first voted, provided both were voted at that time. Accordingly both were called to the work of the ministry.

The next Lord's day, the congregation were staid to desire their consent to the action of the church. Mr. Shepard, in answer to the call, "thankfully acknowledged the church and town's love to his honored father and himself, and gave them very good encouragement that they might in time enjoy his help." Mr. Russell replied that he was willing to help them at present in the work of the ministry. And the church returned him thanks for his acceptance as far as he had expressed it, and desired him to continue in the work of the ministry amongst us."

The dissenting brethren being still dissatisfied, the majority decided upon calling a council; and the three churches in Boston, together with those of Cambridge and Watertown were invited.

The reasons for dissent presented to the council by the minority were the following. 1. They judged their brethren to have been too undeliberate, over-hasty, and precipitate in their motions for Mr. Russell. 2. They had not used any means to see whether Mr. Shepard could freely and cheerfully join with Mr. Russell in the work of the ministry. 3. They judged that, "although Mr. Russell might be of good use in the work of the ministry in some other place, he was not so meet for the managing of the work of a church officer in this place; and consequently, that it is neither safe for the church to call him thereunto, nor for him to accept thereof." These reasons of dissent were signed by "Laurence Hammond, Thomas Graves, Jonathan Hayman, Aaron Ludkin, Samuel Ward."

With the result of council upon these particular premises, we are not acquainted. Whatever it might have been, the subject of contention was soon removed by the providence of God, for Mr. Russell died a few months after, in January, 1679. This event left Mr. Shepard alone before the eyes of

the people, and he appears to have been quietly ordained in a little more than a year after.¹ His ordination is thus recorded by himself on the baptismal register. "I was separated unto the work of the ministry, and ordained pastor of this church, 5th May, 1680. *Pasce oves, ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ μέγας.*"

It will be seen by this record that Mr. Shepard did not succeed his father to the office of teacher; this office was never again filled by an officer especially ordained to the work. After this time the distinction seems to have been lost. But Mr. Shepard was not ordained to both offices; and especial assistance seems to have been afforded him towards the supply of the pulpit.

Upon the town books, under the date of September 1, 1679, we find the following minute. "Mr. Thomas Shepard having accepted to carry on the work of the ministry in this town: it is therefore ordered that he shall have £100 per annum, and the usual allowance to be given to what transient help he see cause to get for the supply of the ministry in this town." And April 5, 1680. It was "ordered, that there be allowed 10s. per every sermon that is preached by strange ministers."

Mr. Shepard was ordained by Mr. Sherman of Watertown, and received the right hand of fellowship from his father's bosom friend, President Oakes. According to the uniform practice of the time, Mr. Shepard preached his own ordination sermon. He took his text from Hebrews xiii. 20. "That great Shepherd of the sheep." An introductory sermon appears also to have been delivered, which probably occupied the place of our modern "address to the people," and "charge;" this discourse was founded upon Ez. xxxiii. 7, "Son of man I have set thee a watchman." It concluded in the following manner:—"Be much in prayer for your watchman, and particularly for him, who is this day to be established in the work of the Lord Jesus Christ among you; you have honored *yourselves* in thus expressing the love and honor which you had for his excellent father; and as it was said in Ruth ii. 20,—'Blessed be he of the Lord, who hath not left off his kindness to the living, and to the dead;' so I will say to you, Blessed be this church of the Lord, that you show kind-

¹ Note 35.

ness unto your dead pastor, and to his living son. As for him, that is now to become your watchman, he needs your prayers; I may say of him as David of Solomon, 'My son is young and tender, and the house is magnificent.' I know not whether any so young as he, was ever left alone with such a charge. Now though the *work be great*, yet the Lord Jesus Christ is able to carry him well through it all; but it must be through the help of your *prayers*, that he comes to have such a *supply of the Spirit*. Pray for him in particular, and that every day! Who knows what God may do for you, in *him*, and by *him*, as in and by his *father* before him? Let it be your prayer, that he would take of the Spirit that was in his *father* and *grandfather*; who were both of them great men in their generation, and bestow thereof a *double portion* upon him. And let that word encourage you, 'My Spirit which is upon thee, and my word which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord.'"

Cotton Mather, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Shepard, and only two years his junior in college, has devoted a somewhat extended chapter to his life; and it will perhaps be the most appropriate conclusion of the present Lecture to derive from this source some account of his early education.¹

Mather says, in speaking of the three Shepards of New England, that "there was such a similitude of spirit, descending from the father to the son, and from the son to the grandson in this holy generation, that albeit they were all of them severally *short-lived*, the two first not living more than *forty*, and the last not so much as *thirty* years, yet there might be a sort of *jointed longevity* ascribed unto the generation; for when the father went away, *non totus recessit*, (he did not entirely depart,) we had him still surviving to the life in the posterity."

The youngest of the three, and the last of the name, was born in this place on the 3d July, 1658; he is the only one of our ministers who was a baptized child of this church, having received this ordinance on the 4th of the same month, shortly before his father's ordination as the teacher of the church.

¹ Magnalia, b. IV. chap. ix.

The date of his admission to the full communion of the church has not been preserved; for inasmuch as it occurred after his father's death, and while the church were without a minister, there was no officer to keep the records of the church. It was the practice of the earlier days to give a verbal, or more commonly, a written account of the candidate's experience before approaching the Lord's Supper.

Mather has preserved a portion of his address to the church on this occasion; and as it is interesting, I will quote the whole of it. "As to the thing of that which is commonly called *first conversion* or *regeneration*, I have had many thoughts about it; but have been afraid, and am still, to determine it unto this or that particular. What I have found by myself, hath made me oftentimes to question, whether the *former operations* of the Spirit of God about me, were any more than *common*; or whether such and such *sins* were consistent with *saving grace*; that which hath helped me in this case, hath been partly, what I have heard from a reverend man of God, 'that such as are from time to time disquieted with such thoughts, the *best*, if not the *only* way to put it out of doubt, that they have *true faith* is by *exercising* faith, to *convert again* unto God.' And putting my soul in the way of the *breathings* of God's Spirit, and then observing the *actings* thereof, I have by the help of the same Spirit, found something of relief under those *doubts*. On my *childhood* and *youth*, I have too much cause to say (as Solomon of the things of this world) *vanity of vanities, all is vanity!* Yet by the blessing of God on the faithful endeavors, and fervent prayers of my religious parents; especially on my honored, blessed, and most exemplary father, who of all as the most *able* to further, so was most *solicitous*, studious and tenderly careful always about the everlasting well-being of a *son*, from the very beginning of *my* days, to the end of *his*, I do think I was by *precept* and holy *example*, imbued with a *natural* love and liking to the ways of God; though not saving, yet such as whereby a *prejudice* against *religion* was prevented."

Young Shepard, while yet a child, was remarkable for his diligence, and love of study; his memory was so retentive, that on the evening of the Lord's day he was wont to repeat all the heads of the longest sermons preached in public, and when the

length, as well as the multitudinous divisions, which characterized the pulpit discourses of that period, are remembered, this will be acknowledged a notable instance of attention and memory in a boy.

I must also trespass upon your patience to give briefly a sketch of the paternal counsels given Mr. Shepard upon his admission to college, inasmuch as they will reflect light upon the character of both father and son. Thomas entered college, just as he had completed his fourteenth year; and his father, to secure his beloved and only son from the temptations of a college life, gave him a paper of written instructions, imitating in this particular the example of his own father, Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge. The sum of these instructions to his son was,

1. To remember that the great end of his life was to glorify God through Christ, and of this period of preparation to fit him for the most glorious work of the holy ministry. "For this end, your father hath set you apart with many tears, and hath given you up to God that he might delight in you. And (he wrote) I had rather see you buried in your grave, than grow light, loose, wanton, or profane. God's secrets in the holy Scriptures are never made known to common and profane spirits; and therefore be sure you begin and end every day, wherein you study, with prayer to God; reading some part of the Scripture daily, and setting apart some time every day (though but one quarter of an hour) for meditation of the things of God.

- "2. Remember that these are times of much knowledge, and therefore one had almost as good be no scholar, as not to excel in knowledge; wherefore abhor one hour of idleness, as you would be ashamed of one hour of drunkenness. Though I would not have you neglect seasons for recreation a little before and after meals, and though I would not have you study late in the night usually, yet know that God will curse your soul, while the sin of idleness is nourished, which hath spoiled so many hopeful youths, in their first blossoming in the college. Hence don't content yourself to do as much as your tutor sets you about, but know, that you will never excel in learning, unless you do somewhat else in private hours, wherein his care cannot reach you."

3. He gave him several directions "to make his studies as pleasant and fruitful as could be," telling him that "reading without meditation will be useless; meditation without reading will be barren. But here I would not have you forget a speech of your blessed *grandfather* to a scholar, that complained to him of a bad memory, which discouraged him from reading, '*Lege, lege, aliquid hærebit.*' That sentence in Proverbs, (xiv. 23,) deserves to be written in letters of gold upon your study table, 'In all labor, there is profit.' Pray much not only for heavenly but also human learning; for remember that prayer at Christ's feet, for all the learning you want, shall fetch you in more in an hour, than possibly you may get by all the books, and helps you have otherwise, in many years."

4. In the fourth place, he exhorted him to be grave and kind in his carriage towards all the scholars; and warned him against certain vices of many scholars.

"5. Remember to intreat God with tears, before you come to hear any *sermon*, that thereby God would powerfully speak to your heart, and make his truth precious to you. Neglect not to *write* after the preacher always in handsome books, and be careful always to preserve and peruse the same. And upon *Sabbath days*, make exceeding conscience of sanctification; mix not your other studies, much less vain and carnal discourses with the duties of that holy day, but remember that command, Lev. xix. 30, 'Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary, I am the Lord.'

"6. Remember that whensoever you hear, read, or conceive any divine truth, you study to affect your heart with it, and the goodness of it. Take heed of receiving truth into your *head*, without the love of it in your heart, lest God give you to strong delusions. If God reveal any truth to you, be sure you be humbly and deeply thankful."

These excellent instructions his father concluded with these words. "My son! if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice,—even mine."

The solitudes and labors of a father, thus wise and faithful, were not in vain. Mather says, that no part of his friend's character was more conspicuous than this, *A reverence for the person and advice of his father*; and that the whole of his academic life may be abridged into this brief account, that he

did make the heart of his worthy father to rejoice by his conscientious and exemplary attendance upon these instructions. Whenever he had occasion to speak of them, it was in these terms, "My, next to Christ, most beloved father's advice."

Such, my hearers, was the character of the father and son, under whose joint ministry, of about twenty-five years, this church and town were guided into the green pastures and beside the still waters of salvation. They were men, we have reason to believe, faithful to God and to their generation; long since have they ceased from their ministry, and entered upon their reward. They are now in heaven with the seals of their ministry and the crowns of their rejoicing. They are now before the throne of God above; and there they have been together, father and son, pastors and people, for more than one hundred and fifty years; but oh! how short a period is this to be in heaven!

And how glorious a place is heaven! When we look upon it as the present residence of the living spirits of those, who in every age have loved the cause of God, and man's salvation, how desirable its society! It would be delightful to meet with them now, as they were when they left the earth; but what a change has passed over their minds and spirits since; they are indeed the same persons, who were born, renewed, and disciplined here on earth, but all else how changed! There every tear is wiped away, there the source of tears is dried up, ignorance is dispelled in the light of heaven, the crooked made straight, every imperfection and every infelicity of temper chased away like clouds before the sun. To meet such minds now, to receive the fellowship and communion of hearts thus rich in the experience of centuries in heaven; what joy, what completion of all our hopes and aspirations! Blessed be God, for the comfortable doctrine of the communion of saints; and everlasting thanks, that by faith and patience through the same Saviour, we may tread in their footsteps, and rise to their inheritance of glory!

LECTURE V.

ZECCHARIAH i. 5.

YOUR FATHERS, WHERE ARE THEY ? AND THE PROPHETS, DO THEY LIVE FOREVER ?

IN the conclusion of the last Lecture, some account was given of the early education of the Rev. Thomas Shepard, third, and his ordination to the pastoral office over this church. Before proceeding to detail the few events we possess respecting his brief life and ministry, it is necessary to call your attention to the synod of 1679 and 80, the fourth and last General Council held by the Churches of this Commonwealth. The causes that gave occasion to the calling of this synod, were the severe and repeated judgments of God, which reminded the people of their departures from the strict principles and practices of their fathers.

The labors of the husbandman had been signally unproductive, in consequence of worms or droughts which occurred for many successive years ; and the principal grains had almost perished under an unaccountable blast. Boston, and the chief seats of trade, had greatly suffered by fires ; and by sea, great losses had befallen the merchants from shipwrecks, and the attacks of enemies upon their vessels and sailors ; the small-pox also, and other pestilential diseases had occasioned great mortality among the people ; and, besides all this, hundreds of the inhabitants of the frontier towns had been butchered by the Indians.

These multiplied frowns of Divine Providence, led the people to inquire into the causes of their sufferings. The clergy dwelt much, in their public discourses, upon the prevailing sins of the times ; many of the churches renewed their covenant with God

and each other; and the General Courts enacted laws to promote the work of reformation. But, as is usual in such cases, there was a great diversity of opinion in respect to the occasions or moral causes of the divine inflictions under which they suffered. Many gave very strange reasons for the plagues of the country; each man's opinion being formed in accordance with his private interests and views of religion.

To determine this question, therefore, and unite the minds of the people, a synod was convened at Boston, September 10, 1679; a general fast having been first kept by the churches, to seek the blessing of God upon their deliberations. The synod proceeded to consider the two following questions:

1. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England?

2. What is to be done that so these evils may be reformed?

In answer to the first question, the synod enumerated the evils to be found among them—sins which had been acknowledged before the Lord on days of humiliation appointed by authority, and yet not reformed; many of which were not punished or punishable by men, and were therefore (the synod judged) punished by God. It is not within my present limits to detail all the moral delinquencies which the synod mentioned under thirteen general heads. But it will cast light upon the moral aspect of that period, to notice the more prominent.

To sum up, then, as briefly as possible, the answer of the synod,¹ to the first question, they declared:

(1.) That there was a visible decay of the power of godliness amongst many professors in these churches.

(2.) That pride abounded in New England, as evidenced in a refusing to be subject to order, according to divine appointment; in contention, and in respect of apparel. Servants, and the poorer sort of people are notoriously guilty in this matter, who (too generally) go above their estates and degrees, thereby transgressing the laws both of God and man. Also, many not of the meaner sort, have offended God by strange apparel, not becoming serious Christians, especially in these days of affliction and misery.

¹ *Magnalia*, II. 273.

(3.) That church fellowship, and other divine institutions are greatly neglected. Many of the rising generation are not mindful of that which their baptism doth engage them unto, viz: to use utmost endeavors that they may be fit for, and so partake in all the holy ordinances of the Lord Jesus. Nor is there so much of discipline extended towards the children of the covenant, as we are generally agreed ought to be done. On the other hand, human inventions and will-worship have been set up even in Jerusalem.

(4.) That the holy and glorious name of God hath been polluted and profaned amongst us, by oath and irreverent behavior in the solemn worship of God. It is a frequent thing for men (though not necessitated thereunto by any infirmity) to sit in prayer-time, and some with their heads almost covered, and to give way to their own sloth and sleepiness, when they should be serving God with attention and intention, under the solemn dispensation of his ordinances. We read of but one man in Scripture, that slept at a sermon, and that sin had like to have cost him his life. Acts xx. 9.

(5.) There is much Sabbath-breaking, by absence from public worship, by not keeping a seventh part of the time holy, in consequence of different apprehensions about the beginning of the Sabbath; by walking abroad and travelling on the Sabbath; by attention to servile callings and employments after the Sabbath is begun, or before it is ended; and by worldly and unsuitable discourses.

(6.) They allege that most of the evils that abound amongst us, proceed from defects as to family government. There are many families that do not pray to God constantly, morning and evening; and many more, wherein the Scriptures are not daily read, that so the word of Christ might dwell richly in them. Children have not been kept in due subjection, and thus Christian parents have been like the Indians; and hence they have, in God's righteous providence, been punished by the Indians.

(7.) They complain of inordinate passions, sinful heats and hatreds among church members themselves, who abound with evil surmisings, uncharitable and unrighteous censures, back-bitings, hearing and telling tales—few that remember and duly observe the rule, with an angry countenance to drive away the

tale-bearer—reproachful and reviling expressions, sometimes to, or of one another.

(8.) There is much intemperance. That heathenish and idolatrous practice of health-drinking, is too frequent. Training days, and other public solemnities, have been abused; and not only English, but Indians have been debauched by those who call themselves Christians, who have put their bottles to them, and made them drunk also. This is a crying sin, and the more aggravated in that the first planters of this colony did (as is in the patent expressed) come into this land with a design to convert the heathen unto Christ; but if instead of that they be taught wickedness, which before they were never guilty of, the Lord may well punish us by them.

(9. 10.) They complain of a want of truth amongst men, and inordinate affection unto the world. There hath been, in many professors, an insatiable desire after land and worldly accommodations; yea, so as to forsake churches and ordinances, and to live like heathen, only that so they might have elbow room enough in the world. Farms and merchandisings have been preferred before the things of God. In this respect, the interest of New England seemeth to be changed. We differ from other outgoings of our nation, in that it was not any worldly considerations that brought our fathers into this wilderness, but religion, even so that they might build a sanctuary unto the Lord's name; whereas, now, religion is made subservient unto worldly interests. Wherefore, we cannot but solemnly bear witness against that practice of settling plantations without any ministry amongst them, which is to prefer the world before the Gospel.

(11. 12. 13.) They also complained of opposition to the work of reformation, a want of public spirit, and of impenitency and unfruitfulness under the means of grace.

In answer to the second question, "What is to be done?" it was recommended among other things, that the present generation should declare their adherence to the faith and order of the Gospel, and that the churches should solemnly renew their covenants, maintain discipline, especially towards the children of the church, by which the disputes respecting the subjects of baptism would be comfortably issued. It was also recommended to the churches, to use their utmost endeavors to obtain a full

supply of officers, according to Christ's institution. The defect of these churches is very lamentable, there being in most of the churches only one teaching officer for the burden of the whole congregation to lie upon. The Lord Jesus Christ would not have instituted pastors, teachers, ruling elders, if he had not seen there was need of them for the good of his people; and therefore, for men to think they can do well enough without them, is both to break the second commandment, and to reflect upon the wisdom of Christ as if he did appoint unnecessary officers in his church. Where there are great congregations, it is impossible for one man, besides his labors in public, fully to attend to personal instruction and discipline. Notwithstanding this recommendation, however, the distinction between pastor and teacher was gradually lost sight of, although the practice of having *two* ministers was still adhered to by many of our churches.

The synod, to carry out their first recommendation, assembled again in the spring of the following year, May 12, 1680. The result of this synod was a confession of faith, drawn up in the language of the Westminster confession, with a few variations from that of the Savoy. They chose to express themselves in the words of those reverend assemblies, (to use their own language) "that so they might not only with one heart, but with one mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ."

This confession shows that our fathers held to the catholic faith of the Christian church, it being substantially the same as the confessions of all the reformed churches of Europe. It is an exposition of the theological doctrines of New England Congregationalism, as the Cambridge Platform is of its discipline and government. The sentiments and practice of our churches differ in certain particulars from both of these documents; but with their general and characterizing principles they still harmonize.

We proceed now with our history of Mr. Shepard's ministry. He was, at the period of his ordination, a very young man, not yet twenty-two years of age; but his mind and character seem to have been precociously mature. The most judicious of his people were constrained to admit that *he was no novice*, and such was the purity and dignity of his example, that *he let no man despise his youth*. The gravity of his deportment kept

up his authority among all classes, while his courtesy won their affection. His outward circumstances being easy—for his father left a good estate for those days—he was distinguished for the charity of his purse, as well as the benevolence of his feelings. As might be inferred from his parentage and education, he was conservative in his sympathies, a zealous promoter of the measures recommended by the reforming synod, and a strict adherent to the theology of the Puritan fathers. Mather says, "There were none dearer to him than the good old people; those holy, devout, aged souls, who had grown well towards *ripe for heaven* under his blessed *father's* ministry; he was much in their company, and he valued their prayers for him, and their serious, and savory, and heavenly communications at no ordinary rate. Nor shall I ever forget the consolation which he told me he had received from the words which one of those plain old saints used unto him, when he was under discouraging fears how he should go through his work: *Sir, said he, if you'll give up yourself to do the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, never fear but he will help you to do yours.*"

In his domestic relations he appears to have been very exemplary. He performed the worship of his family by reading morning and evening a portion of Scripture, and offering a prayer founded upon it; on Saturday nights he chose to repeat a sermon, commonly one which had been preached at some lecture the foregoing week, or one of his deceased father's;¹ and on Sabbath evening he repeated the sermon of the day. He was a laborious student, and his study was a beloved place. He not only had "a fine, large, and continually growing library," but his books bore evidence of having been carefully perused, containing in his own handwriting, a summary of their contents, and memoranda of the most remarkable passages. Indeed, his health appears to have suffered in consequence of his severe application. His habits of study also, were remarkably devout. "He thought that he should never do any great things in feeding his flock, if he did not great things in fasting by himself." Accordingly he set apart one day in every month, for private fasting, to examine his own spiritual condition, and implore blessings upon his people.

¹ Note 35.

In the preparation of his discourses for the pulpit, he began with prayer; and then read over his text in the original, and fixed upon its meaning. He drew forth his doctrines and the other heads of his discourse in the beginning of the week, that he might avail himself of his occasional thoughts. He arranged his own meditations before consulting other authors; and when he had finished his composition, he concluded with a thanksgiving to the Lord, his helper. In the delivery of his sermons he appears not to have excelled; but he felt what he spoke, and spoke what he felt.

In the course of his ministry, he discussed in a series of discourses, a variety of subjects. In reference to the calamities and prevailing iniquities of the time, he preached forty-five sermons on the prayer of Jonas; the last of which, he delivered about a month before his death. At the same time, but on another part of the Lord's day, he preached upon the evils condemned by the synod. In concluding these two courses, he delivered two sermons, the first, to awaken the obstinate, from Jer. xiii. 17. "If ye will not hear, my soul shall weep in secret places for your pride." And the other, to encourage the penitent, from Matt. xi. 28. "Come to me all ye that labor, and I will give you rest." "And he was never after heard speaking in the name of the Lord."

So faithful were his endeavors to discharge his duty as a pastor—watching for souls as one that must give account—that, Mather says, "Methinks I hear him give up this account unto the Judge of all. 'Gracious Lord, I watched that I might see what sort of temptations did most threaten my flock, and I set myself to strengthen them against those temptations. I watched that I might see what sort of afflictions did most assault my flock, and I set myself to comfort them under those afflictions. I did watch to learn what sort of duties were most seasonable to be recommended to my flock, and I vigorously recommended them in the seasons thereof. I did watch to see what souls of my flock did call for my more particular addresses, and I often addressed one or other of them. Yet not I, but the grace which was with me.'"

The labors of Mr. Shepard were not in vain; God encouraged him by making such additions to the church, as few churches in the country at that time received. He has recorded the

names of sixty persons—twenty males and forty females—as received to the full communion of the church; and this during his brief ministry of five years, shows an average increase of twelve for each year, which is a larger number than the average of admissions under his father, or since the organization of the church.

The only vote of the church, recorded by Mr. Shepard during the period of his ministry, is the following :

“March 8, 1685. Voted and concurred in by the church, that *men's relations* (their *own pronouncing them* having been constantly found inconvenient) be for the future read: *Nemine contradicente. T. S.*”

Originally, in the formation of the first Puritan churches, those who sought admission were privately examined by the ministers; but in the year 1634, one of the brethren was present at an examination, and was so much interested, as to awaken a desire in others to be present, until at length the whole church attended.¹ It then became the practice for men to give a verbal account of their religious experience, or relations, as they were called, while those of the women were written and read. It will be remembered that Mr. Shepard, on being admitted to the church, made a statement of his religious views and experience. This practice, however, being attended by many inconveniences, it was resolved by our church at this date, and by the Old South also about the same time, to dispense with oral, and receive written relations. This latter mode becoming after a few years a mere form, it was dropped, and our churches returned to the former mode of examinations before the officers of the church, to whom is now commonly added a committee of the brethren.

The above-mentioned vote of the church was passed just three months before the sudden and lamented death of their youthful pastor. About this time he was preaching a series of thirteen sermons on those words of the Preacher in Ecclesiastes xii. 5: “Man goeth to his long home.” His friend tells us that “he had a strange and strong presage on his own mind, that he was himself to be not long from that home.” His family were short-lived. His grandfather, of Cambridge, died in his

¹ Magnalia, II. 209.

forty-fourth year, his father in his forty-third year; and he himself had a presentiment that he should not outlive the age of twenty-seven, at which his uncle died, the Rev. Samuel Shepard, third pastor of the church in Rowley—a man so much beloved by his people, that they would have plucked out their eyes to have saved his life.”

This apprehension of early death seems to have deeply impressed the mind of Mr. Shepard, and influenced both his preaching and his conduct, so that he stood prepared for the sudden visitation which at last befell him. By a surprising coincidence with his unaccountable forebodings, he expired on Sabbath night, June 7, 1685, after an illness of one or two days, when he was a month short of twenty-seven. He was somewhat indisposed on Friday, but continued his labors all the day following, to be ready for the Lord's day, when he was to have administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper. But, on Saturday night, his illness grew so much upon him, that he desisted, and said to his wife, “I would gladly have been once more at the table of the Lord, but I now see that I shall no more partake thereof, until I do it after a new manner in the kingdom of heaven!” “On Lord's day noon,” says Cotton Mather, who, together with Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, supplied the pulpit that day, “I visited him, and at my parting with him, he said, ‘my hopes are built on the free mercy of God, and the rich merit of Christ, and I do believe, that, if I am taken out of the world, I shall only change my *place*; I shall neither change my *company*, nor change my *communion*; and as for you, sir, I beg the Lord Jesus to be with you until the end of the world!’ After this he said but little to his attendants, but was often overheard pouring out prayers, and especially for the *widow-church* (as he often expressed it) which he was to leave behind him. And in the night following,” says Mather, “to the extreme surprise of his friends on earth, he went away to those in heaven.”

The surprise with which the intelligence of Mr. Shepard's death was received by his friends, is well expressed by Judge Sewall, in his MS. journal, the day after it occurred. “Asaph Eliot comes in and tells me the certain news, doleful news, of Mr. Shepard of Charlestown, his being dead; of whose illness I heard nothing at all. Saw him very well this day sennight.

Was much smitten with the news. Was taken on Friday night ; yet being to preach and administer the Lord's supper on Sabbath day, forbore physick, at least at first."

His funeral took place on Tuesday, June 9th. The governor, lieutenant governor, and magistrates, together with some of the most distinguished clergymen, were present ; the faculty of Harvard College were also present, inasmuch as he was one of the overseers of that institution—and the students walked before the hearse. The pall-bearers were Mr. Mather, Mr. Simmes, Mr. Willard, Mr. Hubbard of Cambridge (Hobart of Newton), Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, and Mr. Cotton Mather. Judge Sewall says "that there were some verses, but none pin'd on the herse ;" this refers to a practice in those days, of composing complimentary verses upon the deceased, and attaching them to the hearse.

In addition to the account which has now been given of Mr. Shepard's life, it will not be necessary to say much of his character. For so young a man, he possessed an extensive acquaintance with theology. He had no sympathy with the new divinity of the day, but was ardently attached to orthodoxy, and able in defending the truth against Arminian opposers. "He looked," says Mather, "upon many late books written to undermine the orthodox articles of the Church of England, by persons who perhaps had got into preferment by subscribing those very articles, as books that indeed betrayed the Christian religion under pretence of upholding it." Among his favorite authors, were Usher, Caryl, Owen, Sherlock, and Hooker.

The facts which I have given, have been chiefly derived from Cotton Mather, who was (as I have before said) but two years the junior of Mr. Shepard in college, and who has drawn his friend's character with the warm coloring of personal affection and admiration. "I confess," he says, "my affection unto my dear Shepard to have been such, that if I might use the poet's expression of his friend, *animæ dimidium meæ*, I must say, *I am half buried since he is dead ; or, he is but half dead since I am alive.*"

"Dear Shepard, sure we dare not call thee dead :
Tho' gone, thou'rt but unto thy kindred fled."

By the decease of Mr. Shepard, the church was again left without a pastor and teacher; nor do we know to whom the minds of the people were directed, until the arrival in this country, the following summer, of the Rev. Charles Morton, whose celebrity for great and various acquisitions drew towards him at once the attention not merely of this town, but of the community at large. This gentleman was born at Pendavy, in the county of Cornwall, in the year 1626.¹ His father, the Rev. Nicholas Morton, was minister of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, where he died. Two of his brothers were also clergymen. He descended from an ancient and honorable family at Morton in Nottinghamshire, the seat of Thomas Morton, who was secretary to king Edward III. in the fourteenth century. At the age of fourteen, he was sent by his grandfather to Wadham College in Oxford, where he applied himself with great diligence to study, and became very zealous for the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, after the example of his grandfather, who was a great royalist. When the civil wars came on, however, he observed that the most virtuous part of the nation were on the side of the parliament against the king, and this is said to have led him to examine the controversy; the consequence of which was, that he sided with the Puritans. While he was fellow of the college, he greatly distinguished himself by his mathematical genius, as he did indeed by his general scholarship. After leaving college, he settled in the ministry in Blisland, where his father had settled before him and from which he had been ejected for non-conformity, and here he lived comfortably for several years. From this living, however, he was ejected by the act of Uniformity of 1662, and afterwards lived in a small house of his own in the parish of St. Ives, where he preached to a few people of a neighboring village until the great fire of London. By that event he suffered great losses, and was compelled to remove to London that he might take care of his affairs. Here he was prevailed upon to engage in the instruction of youth, for which he was singularly fitted, and which he prosecuted with distinguished success for some years at Newington Green. He educated some scores of ministers, and many of his scholars attained

¹ Calamy's Non-Conformist's Memorial.

distinction both in church and state. De Foe, the celebrated author of *Robinson Crusoe*, was one of his pupils. He is said to have had a peculiar tact in winning youth to the love of virtue and learning, both by his pleasant conversation and a familiar way he had of making difficult subjects intelligible. The design of Mr. Morton's academy at Newington Green was to extend the privileges of a liberal education to Dissenters, who were excluded from the national universities. He carried his pupils not only through the literary and scientific studies pursued at college, but also gave lectures to those who were preparing for professional life. Twenty years of his life were spent in this useful and honorable employment; but during the whole period he was subjected to continual processes from the bishops' courts, to which he was compelled at length to yield, and, in consequence of the aspect of public affairs in England, to betake himself to this country. Among the motives that induced him to remove to New England, was the expectation afforded him of presiding over Harvard College. But when he arrived, the political condition of the country was so changed—James II. having revoked the charter, dissolved the General Court, and placed the colony under arbitrary rule—that it was inexpedient, if not impossible, to intrust the college to one so obnoxious to the government as Mr. Morton. His fitness for the station, however, was universally conceded; the office of vice-president was created for him, and he would, no doubt, have been elected president, had his life been prolonged. He was followed to this country by two or three young men, who attended his lectures on philosophy, which he read at his own house; and his fame as an instructor was beginning to draw to him several from the college; but this causing great uneasiness in the corporation, he was forced to decline teaching any farther.

Of the welcome reception which Mr. Morton received on his arrival in this country, we have an account in the journal of John Dunton,¹ who has left us a very lively narration of what he saw during a visit he made to Boston in 1686, bringing with him letters of introduction from various persons in England, and among the rest from Mr. Morton himself.

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. II. 115.

He had been making a visit to Natick, where he had gone to see with his own eyes what Christianity had done for the Indians, and to hear Mr. Eliot preach to them ; and upon his return, he says :

“ Upon my coming to Boston, I heard that the Rev. Mr. Morton, so much celebrated in England for his piety and learning, was just arrived from England, and with him his kinsman, Dr. Morton the physician. The news of Mr. Morton’s arrival was received here with extraordinary joy by the people in general, and they had reason for it, for besides his being a useful man in fitting young men for the ministry, he always gave a mighty character of New England, which occasioned many to fly to it from the persecution which was then raging in London.” “ I know it would be presumption in me,” he continues, “ to draw Mr. Morton’s character ; yet, being personally acquainted with him, I cannot but attempt something like it. His conversation showed him a gentleman—he was the very soul of philosophy ; the several manuscripts he writ for the use of his private academy, sufficiently showed this. He was the repository of all arts and sciences, and of the graces too ; his discourses were not stale or studied, but always new and occasional, for whatever subject was at any time started, he had still some pleasant and pat story for it. His sermons were high, but not soaring—practical, but not low ; his memory was vast as his knowledge, yet (so great was his humility) he knew it the least of any man ; he was as free from pride as ignorance, and if we may judge of a man’s religion by his charity, (and can we go by a surer rule ?) he was a sincere Christian.” ¹

We may readily suppose that this church and town did not delay long in making the necessary arrangements to secure the services of Mr. Morton as their minister. He arrived in the month of July, 1686, and in the following November (5th) he was solemnly inducted into the pastoral office, after the “ widow-church”—as the dying young Shepard called it—had been without a pastor about a year and a half.

There was something peculiar about the method in which Mr. Morton entered upon the pastoral office. He himself called it an induction ; it was properly an installation, as that

¹ Note 37.

word is now used in distinction from ordination, and is probably the first instance in which this distinction was recognised.

It will be remembered that the Rev. John Wilson, and all the first Puritan ministers, who had received ordination in England, were re-ordained with the imposition of hands afresh, when they took upon them the charge of a particular church. The design of this was not to deny the validity of their former ordination, but to teach a principle of Congrégationalism, incorporated into the Platform, and there expressed in these words: "He that is clearly loosed from his office-relation unto the church whereof he was a minister, cannot be looked at as an officer, nor perform any act of office in any other church, unless he be again orderly called unto office; which when it shall be we know nothing to hinder but imposition of hands ought to be used towards him again." It was under the influence of these sentiments that Mr. Cotton thought himself incompetent to baptize his infant son, born at sea, because there was no church on ship-board, and as a minister he had no right to administer the seals except in his own church.

This extreme and rigid opinion was now giving way, and Mr. Morton, by the influence of his character and example, contributed not a little to bring it into discredit. Indeed it is rather a feature of Independency, than Congrégationalism. Judge Sewall was present at the installation, and from his account¹ we learn that the new practice was not pleasing to all. In the first place opportunity was offered to the church, and to all, to offer objections if they had any, and then the vote of the church was taken. Mr. Morton preached from Rom. i. 16, "For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." He alluded very pithily to the 5th of November, the day of his installation, which was the anniversary of Thanksgiving in England for their deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason; he said that just the contrary to what the Epistle to the Romans inculcated was taught and practiced at Rome. Mr. Mather gave him his charge, and "spoke in praise of the Congrégational way, and

¹ Am. Quart. Reg. xiii. 44. In this periodical will be found much valuable information respecting our church, in a series of articles furnished by Rev. Samuel Sewall of Burlington.

said, were he as Mr. Morton, he would have hands laid on him." Mr. Moody also in his prayer alluded to the subject, and intimated that "that which would have been grateful to many (viz : laying on of hands) was omitted."

Mr. Morton was sixty years of age when he entered, in this manner, upon the duties of a pastor in this church—a period of life much more advanced than any other of our ministers had attained to at the time of settlement. During his ministry of nearly twelve years, fifty-nine were admitted to full communion with the church, and six hundred twenty-three baptized, two hundred eighty-four males and three hundred thirty-nine females.

Before concluding this discourse, I cannot refrain from making a few observations upon the mutability of human affairs. Verily man walketh in a vain show! In dwelling upon the events to which our attention has been called, we have witnessed but a representation of the shifting scenes in which we are ourselves actors! We have been thinking over again the thoughts of men long dead, we have been moving in the midst of a generation of shadows, the magistrates and pastors and people of olden time have passed before us, we have beheld them again agitated with the desires and hopes and fears of life. It is an impressive thing to walk the earth in imagination, with forms that are dust now—whose voices and passions have been left far behind us in the lapse of time—whose projects and hopes are low beneath our feet, like autumn's leaves; for the reflection cannot but recur with force to every mind, that as they and theirs now are, so shall we soon be! How profitable the lessons of history! Each tolling bell, that marks the passing away of life, utters the same lesson which time has been teaching since it first began to mete off man's probation; vanity and change—the same allotments happen to all alike! With all the variety of life—variety enough to interest and excite each successive generation of men—the experience of man is still the same. Upon this same theatre—for these houses and lands—you contend, and then retire, and leave others to act over the same scenes, and with a like result!

We have wept by the bier of the youthful Shepard, and have looked with reverence upon the ancient men of that early generation. So, too, are the aged and the young among us; and

among us the blighting of early promise, and the falling of hopes that have opened to fade and drop. I have had occasion before, to allude to the few survivors of the Pilgrim generation. As we have seen a few leaves clinging to a naked tree, and sometimes the young and tender ones holding on till mid-winter notwithstanding frost and tempest; so a few of that first generation out-lived the privations of their settlement in the wilderness, and saw their children's children, in an old age full of years and honors. By the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington, I have been furnished with an extract from his ancestor's journal, which makes mention of the death and funeral of the relict of Increase Nowell, and a few others who were probably among the last of Winthrop's companions.

"1687. March 22. A considerable snow on the ground which fell last night. Mrs. Eliot, of Roxbury, dies. Now about, Goodman Francis, an ancient and good man indeed, of Cambridge, dies. Friday, March 25. Mrs. Nowell, Samuel Nowell Esq's. mother dies. 28. Went to Mrs. Eliot's funeral, which was a very great one; no scarfs. 29. To Mrs. Nowell's, the widow of Mr. Increase Nowell, a Patentee. Mr. Danforth, Davie, Richards, Russell, Cook, Sewall, bearers. None else of the old government were there but Mr. Secretary Rawson. I helped to lift the corpse into Mr. Shepard's tomb, and to place it there, carrying the head. Mr. Nowell went not in. Eighty-four years old."

Thus have they passed away—the dead and they that buried their dead! How emphatically do the places that once knew them—not only the places of their abode, but the places of their sepulture—know them no more for ever. The memorials of nearly all the first settlers have been effaced by the action of time, or destroyed by the desolating war, which, a century after, laid the town in ashes, and left to the violence of soldiers the hill where the fathers were gathered together in the sleep of the grave. You will search in vain, among the sunken and inclining stones of your burying-hill, for the names so familiar to your early history; not one of the names of the early religious teachers of the church, Symmes, Harvard, the elder and younger Shepard, or the aged Morton, can now be found. But they are not and never can be forgotten. Their names are now living freshly on the tablets of immortal hearts.

They are, we may not doubt, surrounded by those to whom they ministered the word and sacraments of life on earth ; and think you that in their hearts the names and services of their faithful pastors can ever be forgotten ?

But peace to their ashes ! Whatever philosophy may say, it is the dictate of religion, as well as of natural taste and sentiment, to care for the burial places of those that sleep in Jesus. We believe not only in the immortality of the soul, but also in the resurrection of the body ; does not the Redeemer himself watch over the sleeping dust of his disciples, and does the believer want any greater incentive, to hallow the last resting place of his guide or companion in faith ?

And here let me say a word to the inhabitants of this town respecting the reverence that is due their 'burying-hill,'—piled (if I may be allowed the expression) with sacred dust. It is indescribably dear to many of you, because those are sleeping there whom you once loved, and still love ; and those also are there, whom it was a blessing to know, and whom it is a blessing to succeed. Cherish the place then, and guard it with a rampart of filial hearts ! It is a pleasing indication of modern taste and refinement, that some of the most beautiful spots in nature, like Mount Auburn, have been consecrated to the burial of the dead. Surely it is a becoming act of piety to protect from injury, and render attractive, the spots which the venerable dead have themselves consecrated by making them their last resting places. The fathers of the town acted upon this principle, and offered the best they had, when they devoted the 'burying-hill' to their dead ; it was the most beautiful and appropriate site on the peninsula, commanding a varied and extensive prospect, eminently calculated to soothe and elevate the mind when seen in the soft twilight of a Sabbath evening, at which time the Puritans and their children were wont to pay a solemn yet cheerful visit to the graves of their departed kindred. That ground is still capable of being beautified and rendered attractive, and thus made to serve a valuable moral purpose, by impressing upon the hearts of the present generation a salutary reverence for the Pilgrim Fathers.

LECTURE VI.

GENESIS xvii. 7, 8.

AND I WILL ESTABLISH MY COVENANT BETWEEN ME AND THEE, AND THY SEED AFTER THEE IN THEIR GENERATIONS, FOR AN EVERLASTING COVENANT, TO BE A GOD UNTO THEE AND TO THY SEED AFTER THEE. AND I WILL GIVE UNTO THEE AND TO THY SEED AFTER THEE, THE LAND WHEREIN THOU ART A STRANGER, ALL THE LAND OF CANAAN, FOR AN EVERLASTING POSSESSION; AND I WILL BE THEIR GOD.

AMONG all the ministers of this church, no man enjoyed a higher reputation for talents and learning with his cotemporaries than Mr. Morton. The circumstances of his arrival in this country, the welcome he received, together with his previous reputation, afford evidence of this; but ampler proof may be derived from the writings he has left us, both published and unpublished. It was Mr. Morton's practice to prepare essays and tracts on various literary and scientific subjects, and place them in the hands of his students to be copied by them. One of these has been published by Mr. Calamy. It was a paper drawn up under the reign of king Charles II., and bears the title of "Advice to Candidates for the Ministry under the present discouraging circumstances." I shall take the liberty of presenting a few extracts from this essay, not only for their intrinsic value, but for the light they will cast upon the author's views of the ministerial office, and his own character as a minister.

"Presuming you will accept of advice from one you know loves and wishes you well, and whose comforts are much bound up in your well-doing—having observed some desideranda in divers who are entering into the sacred work—I thought it my duty to deal plainly and faithfully with you in a few suitable and seasonable admonitions to you.

"This premised, my counsel in short is—

"1. That in all study and preaching, you chiefly mind Jesus Christ. Remember you design the ministry of the gospel; and the gospel is the doctrine of the *Saviour*, and the tender of salvation by the Mediator. Think much of that passage of Luther: 'Omnes meæ meditationes theologicæ in Christo fluunt refluentque.' (All my reflections upon theology lead me and bring me back to Christ.) Is it a sin you think of or mention? remember it still as a piercer, a persecutor, a crucifier of Christ. So look on it and Him together, as may cause you to mourn over both. Is it a duty? remember always whence strength comes to perform it: *Lex jubet; Evangelium juvat.* (Law commands; Gospel assists.) For without Him you can do nothing; no, not so much as think a good thought. Is it a threat? let it be a *spurr*; or a promise? let it be a lure; both inciting in their proper way to come unto Christ; the former as the rod of the law, a schoolmaster; the latter as a branch of the covenant of grace, which in Christ alone is yea and amen. Do you offer prayer or praise unto God? not only remember the formal and customary close, (through Jesus Christ our Lord,) but in every branch, let the hand of faith, with holy and humble affection, tender and deliver it into the Mediator's hand, that it may be acceptable in the beloved. Thus you shall avoid the unsavory way of moral philosophy lecturers, instead of gospel preaching, more fit for the rostra or theatre of heathens, than the pulpit or assembly of Christians; and better comply with the exemplary resolution of the apostle, who determined to 'know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.'

"2. That you often call to mind the end of preaching, which is to teach what men should, not to show what you can do. Direct your speech, not as if you intended to beat the air over men's heads, but as designing to teach and touch the tenderest part of their hearts. What we speak to God, must be aimed at his heart; and what from him to man, should be aimed at theirs. The church is Christ's school. Every member is a disciple or scholar. A minister is a teacher sent from God. He should, therefore, personate at least a tutor, if not a parent. Now a father or tutor does not make orations or speeches to his children or scholars, but in a familiar way (*humano more*) he inculcates his instructions so as he judges will make the best impression.

"As for probationership, and the opinions of men concerning you, you neither need nor ought to be farther concerned. than with relation to the fruit of your labors, and the end of preaching. Think often that your preparations are designed to serve and please the great God. What is it then, whether they are pleasing or no, to this learned, that curious, or the other great man! In a word, let the words of vain critics pass unregarded. Only labor sincerely to approve yourselves to God, and you will be also approved in good men's consciences.

"3. In connection with and reference to the last advice, I counsel you to use notes, not proudly and foolishly, but humbly and wisely.

"The proud use of notes is, when men of an affected curiosity, to scratch itching ears, are nice to note down all to a word or tittle, lest (forsooth) the starched oration should be ruffled by a rough expression. When these exact notes are prepared, then they are either conned by heart, and recited like a school-boy's lesson, or read verbatim as a child does his horn-book.

"On the other hand, an humble, prudent use of notes is, when men out of a sense of their infirmity, have them ready as an help, not presuming on their extempore faculty, nor despising such a method, or succinctness of discourse, as may be best understood and retained by the auditors. When things prudently (not words curiously) are so disposed of, as that when a man is to deliver a certain sentence or paragraph of truth, he may have the whole freedom of his mind to express it with its proper affection, without fear of losing the next consequent, or an impertinent filling up some interstitial time with an ill-favored heap of superfluous words, till the mind can recover itself to think what should be next. Those that will never use notes often need them. Such are (in my thoughts) like a man that holds a bundle of arrows in his bow-hand; the steadiness and strength of whose draught is thereby hindered; whereas, the others are as one that disposeth of them in order in his quiver, and out of his way, who, when he hath with full strength drawn one shaft to the very head, and sent it to the heart, can handsomely come at another, and make use of it without interruption. I said before, things and not words. Not that I advise an utter neglect of proper and significant expressions; but the greatest care should be had of the matter and

things. And if this be done, one that is a scholar, and who ordinarily accustoms himself to speak handsomely and proper, needs not want sufficient words well to express his mind. ‘*Re bene disposita, verba ac invita sequuntur.*’ (When your thoughts are well arranged, appropriate words will naturally follow.)”

But I may not proceed further with these extracts. The whole letter or essay is permanently valuable, and might be transcribed now with great advantage by candidates for the ministry. It may serve also to give us an accurate and lively idea of Mr. Morton’s own character as a preacher. He had confessedly very extensive stores of learning at command, and his long experience as a teacher, gave him the power of communicating instruction with great readiness, and adapting his method to the wants of all classes. He was a man of tact and good sense, and every way fitted to exercise a controlling influence over his hearers. This pulpit was probably never occupied by a man so eminent for his qualifications as a preacher. His rich fund of information, together with his fondness for instruction, made him very attractive to young men. He was surrounded by large numbers of them for twenty years in London; and when he came to this country he was followed by some of his pupils, and during the remainder of his life here he was attended by more or less.

Mr. Morton published a number of small treatises during his life;¹ but he was always brief and compendious, being a declared enemy of large volumes. The Greek maxim, “*Μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν*,” A great book, a great evil—was frequently in his mouth.

Mr. Morton discharged the duties of a pastor for about ten years; during this period the ancient spirit of discipline seems to have been maintained—the baptized children being regarded as strictly under the watch and care of the church. A person, who was a member of the church in Dorchester by baptism, having committed an offence in this place, by direction of that church made an acknowledgment to the satisfaction of this church, and was restored.

On the 9th of November, 1694, the church being entirely

¹ Note 38.

without deacons, a meeting was held, and "there were nominated Mr. Joseph Kettle, Mr. John Call, and Mr. Samuel Kettle," of whom the two first-mentioned were in the following April ordained in accordance with ancient usage.

At the same time, the church also voted, "that they thought it needful to call one to be an assistant in the work of the ministry, in order to office in this church;" and for that purpose a church meeting was appointed on the 23d of the month, at nine o'clock in the morning, when they "proceeded and nominated and chose Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton."

This gentleman was born in Boston, in 1672, and graduated at Harvard College, 1691. At the time of receiving the call of this church, he was very young, and had just completed his preparatory studies. He declined the call of the church, perhaps for the reason mentioned, and preferred a longer residence at the college, to which he returned in the capacity of a tutor. The people, however, remembered him with interest, and made a second attempt to secure his services, as we learn from the following memorandum written by Mr. Morton. "Since my last great sickness for about a year, the deacons provided transient help to preach one part of the day. My weakness being more than ordinary manifest this last winter, sometime in January, divers, both of the church and town, came together unto me, and asked if I were willing to have a settled helper? I answered in the affirmative. Then they asked me what method in order thereunto I would advise them, in which they should proceed? I answered, first ask counsel of God, and then of wise men."

"Accordingly," he writes, "on this day, February 11, 1697, we had a public fast; Mr. Willard and myself preaching, and other ministers assisting in prayer. After this, a committee, constituted both of the church and inhabitants, were chosen to act herein, who made this return to the whole congregation." Then follows the report, which states that the major part of the ministers of Boston advised to the choice of Mr. Pemberton, and concludes with a recommendation, "that the inhabitants do convene on the next Friday come fortnight, at nine of the clock in the forenoon, being the 12th day of March next, in order to a free choice in that affair."

Before this meeting took place, however, the church met at

Mr. Morton's house, February 22d, and passed the following vote: "That, whereas, they did formerly in the year 1694, November 23, vote, and nominated Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton to be an assistant to Mr. Charles Morton, as a settled help in the work of the ministry; and we are so well satisfied in what they have done herein, as to come to a free and general vote with the inhabitants, at the time appointed by the committee, in order to a settled help to the Rev. Mr. Charles Morton in the work of the ministry among us."

At the general town meeting (March 12) Mr. Simon Bradstreet was chosen assistant pastor, and a call extended to him accordingly. Whether the church contemplated such a result or not, we do not know. At their previous meeting they renewed their call to Mr. Pemberton, and probably expected the ratification of it by the town. But I can discover no evidence of a disagreement between the church and the town, but on the contrary, an unusual degree of unanimity. When Mr. Bradstreet was elected, it seems to have taken place by general consent, probably because it was ascertained that Mr. Pemberton would not accept. However this may be, it certainly does not appear that the church designed to relinquish their undoubted right to proceed first in the choice of a minister. They did make the first move, and at their meeting on the 22d of February, although for some reason they did not elect Mr. Bradstreet, they yet expressed themselves so well "satisfied as to come to a free and general vote with the inhabitants," in the choice of a minister. This declaration was read to the inhabitants at the town meeting on the 12th of March, and it would seem that the church supposed they had virtually, if not formally, made choice of Mr. Bradstreet before he was chosen by the town.

But the method of procedure was deemed irregular and of dangerous tendency by some in the vicinity. Under date of the 9th of May, 1697, we find the following record, the last entry made by the trembling hand of the venerable Morton. "The church stopped—they voted that the committee should bring in their answer to the three churches' letters on the next Lord's day. And at the same time, May 9, voted and declared that they as a church of Christ, did vote Mr. Simon Bradstreet to be a constant helper to me (their aged pastor) in the work of the ministry."

This refers to a letter of admonition sent by the North church in Boston to this church, for "betraying the liberties of the churches in their late putting into the hands of the whole inhabitants the choice of a minister." The reply of this church to the charge has not been preserved, and we cannot therefore know with certainty the merits of the controversy. But from the facts with which we are acquainted, it would seem that the accusation arose from a misunderstanding, or the fault from inadvertence and that laxness which results from entire unanimity.

The call of the church and town, however, as thus made out to Mr. Bradstreet, was for some reason declined, and he was not settled till after the death of Mr. Morton.¹

Mr. Morton lived about a year after the transaction narrated above, probably in a very feeble state of health. Under the date of June 1, 1697, Judge Sewall mentions his attending the funeral of Mr. Thomas Graves, on which occasion he says: "Mr. Morton is very short breath'd—sat upon a tomb in the burying-place, and said for ought he knew he should be next." And in the month of February following, he speaks repeatedly of riding over the ice to Charlestown to visit Mr. Morton. On the 8th of April he visited him; and, as it is the last interview with the dying pastor of which we have any account, I will quote it.

"I was told he was asleep; but went in, and when I drew nigh his bedside, he earnestly stretched out his flaming hand to me, and strove to speak, but could not. I think the first I heard him say was, 'I sir.' I asked him how he did in such long illness. He at first said, 'That which can't be cured, must be endured.' But seemed presently after to correct himself, and say, 'I desire patiently to submit to the hand of God.' A while after, I said, you cannot speak to me, but you can speak to God, which is a thousand times better. I pray that God would help you to speak to him, and that he would graciously hear you when you do speak. He seemed to lie still in a listening posture, and made a little pause and said, 'Excellent things! if I could receive them and live up to them!' Before this, he said something about his man Tiler, that he heard he was become a

¹ Note 39.

new man. When I took leave, he said, 'I wish you well, and all your family.' I told him I doubted not but that I should fare the better for his blessing."

The death of Mr. Morton took place on the 11th of April, 1698. On that day, Judge Sewall says, "Mr. Willard and I, having appointed it before, went to see Mr. Morton. He was in his agonies, but Mr. Willard prayed with him, and he seemed to be sensible by the motion of his eye. He died between two and three of the clock." The funeral took place on the 14th, and was attended by the principal members of the court, the officers of the college, (of which he was vice-president,) and the students, who preceded the hearse and led the procession. The will of Mr. Morton has been preserved in the probate office, bearing date November, 1697. After some personal bequests, he "appoints his executor to dispose of at his discretion to such persons as to him shall seem meet, all his philosophical writings, sermon notes, pamphlets, mathematical instruments, and other rarities." He bequeathed fifty pounds to the president and fellows of Harvard College, for the use of the college, and left his houses and lands in this town, and in Cornwall, England, and the rest of his estate, to his two nephews, Charles and John Morton, and his niece, Mary Morton, to be equally divided among them.

An elegant and complimentary Latin epitaph upon Mr. Morton, was composed by his successor, the Rev. Simon Bradstreet.¹

In the month of May, the worshipful James Russell was appointed to declare to the town, the election of Mr. Bradstreet as their pastor, and to request their concurrence. This having been accorded, Mr. Bradstreet signified his acceptance, and was ordained October 26, 1698.

Mr. Bradstreet was the son of the Rev. Simon Bradstreet, the first minister of New London, Connecticut, in which place he was born, and grandson of Simon Bradstreet, one of the most distinguished of the Pilgrim fathers, and for many years a popular governor of the colony. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1693, and his ministry was a long one, of more than forty years' duration. He was a man of great learning, strong mind, and lively imagination; but in the latter part of

¹ Note 40.

his life became so hypocondriacal, that he was afraid to preach in the pulpit, from an impression that he should die there. In consequence of this, he delivered his sermons in the deacons' seat; they were generally extempore, and pervaded with the melancholy which attached so morbidly to his own mind. His style of preaching was rather practical than doctrinal—for the most part upon the state of man and the vanity of the world; and this, together with his fondness for Tillotson's sermons, exposed him to the charge of Arminianism. He seldom if ever appeared with a coat, but always wore a plaid gown, and was commonly seen with a pipe in his mouth. But it was principally for his classical attainments that Mr. Bradstreet was distinguished; and in illustration of this, an anecdote is told of him, that when introduced to Governor Burnet, who was himself a fine scholar, it was said of him by Lieutenant Governor Taylor, who introduced him, "Here is a man who can whistle Greek."¹

For about fifteen years, Mr. Bradstreet performed the duties of his office alone. In the month of June, 1712, a committee was appointed by the town to confer with him respecting the selection of a colleague. The church acceded to the desire of the town, and both concurred in the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer for the blessing of God "in such a weighty and important undertaking." After this, the church nominated Rev. Messrs. Joseph Stevens, John Webb, and John Tufts; and from these three the town proceeded to ballot, and chose Mr. Stevens. Having accepted the invitation, he was ordained October 13, 1713. The sacred charge was given him by the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, and the right hand of fellowship by his son Dr. Cotton Mather. Mr. Stevens preached his own ordination sermon, taking for his text Daniel xii. 3: "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

Judge Sewall, who was present, says that "Dr. Cotton Mather made an august speech, shewing that the Congrega-

¹ Judge Russell of this place, who died 1798, at the age of 83, was present, a young lad, and witnessed the introduction. 1 Mass. H. S. Coll. viii. 75.

tional churches declared early against Independency, that all the reformation of the continent of Europe ordained as New England did; shewed that their ordination had no other foundation. Declared what was expected of the ordained person, what of the church, and then gave the right hand of fellowship.¹ The three last staves of the thirty-second Psalm sung. Captain Phips set the tune, and read it."

An ordination occasion was formerly one of general public interest, and was celebrated with considerable expense. Fifty pounds were raised to defray the charges of the ordination of Mr. Stevens, an amount equal to half a year's salary.

Mr. Stevens was a son of Deacon John Stevens, of the First or North church of Andover, where he was born 20th of June, 1682. He graduated at Harvard College, 1703, of which he became a tutor and fellow. He preached his first sermon at Marblehead, September 16, 1705, on Matt. xvi. 26, at the age of twenty-three. "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Mr. Stevens, like the elder Shepard, was cut off in early manhood, and by the same disease; but he has left behind him an unspotted and enviable name. He was distinguished for his fervor and eloquence as a preacher; and the various excellencies of his character won the affections of his people in a remarkable degree.

The next event of importance, after the ordination of Mr. Stevens, was the erection of a new meeting-house, in 1716.

It will be remembered that the Government House, or "Great House," as it was called, was purchased by the town, in 1633, and was the first edifice occupied for public worship. In two or three years, however, this was sold, and a meeting-house built further up town, "between the town and the neck;" but this arrangement was only a temporary one. In 1639, the house was sold for one hundred pounds, and a new meeting-house built on the south side of the town hill. This house, having been frequently repaired and enlarged, remained till 1716, about seventy-five years. On the 21st of June, 1715, it was voted by the town, unanimously, to build a new meeting-house, to stand

¹ "Oct. 13, 1713. I made the prayer before the sermon, and I gave the fellowship of the churches in a large speech, wherein I enjoyed the signal assistance of God."—*Collon Mather's MS. journal in the library of the Antiq. Soc., Worcester.*

as near the old one as can be, with such additions of land as shall be needful for it." The building committee were then chosen, and consisted of the following persons: "Col. John Phillips, Col. Joseph Lynde, Capt. Nathaniel Carey, Capt. Samuel Phipps, Capt. Charles Chambers, Capt. Jonathan Dows, Capt. Michael Gill, Doct. Thomas Greaves, Capt. Samuel Frothingham, Mr. Daniel Russell, and Mr. Nathaniel Frothingham."

The house was raised June 20th, 1716. Judge Sewall tells us in his MS. journal, that he went over to Charlestown on the morning of this day, and "drove a pin in Charlestown meeting-house, in the corner post next Mr. Bradstreet's, and sat in the nearest shop and saw them raise the third post towards the ferry from the corner post." It was opened for the public worship of God, for the first time, August 5, 1716. The first lecture¹ in the new meeting-house, was preached on the 21st of September, by Mr. Stevens, from Psalm lxxxiv. 4: "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house." "He made," says Judge Sewall, "a very good discourse, worthy to be printed." On the 20th of May, 1717, the committee chosen to build the meeting-house, reported that, "by the blessing of God," they had completed the work. The cost was £1,899 3s. 10d. The sum received from the contributors, amounted to £1,925. This meeting-house was in the square, as is well known, and is still remembered by some among us. It stood till the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and then "our holy, and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, O Lord, was burned up with fire, and all our pleasant things were laid waste."

Mr. Stevens's life was a short one; but of his ministry and personal character, there remain to us some interesting memorials of which I shall make mention in the next Lecture.

Of Mr. Bradstreet I have been able to obtain little, beyond the few particulars already given. By the kindness, however, of a descendant of his, I have been put in possession of a manuscript volume, belonging to the family, and handed down to the late Miss Catharine Bradstreet of this town. It consists of the compositions of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, the daughter of Governor Dudley, and wife of Governor Bradstreet, who

¹ Note 41.

may not invidiously be called the most distinguished female character and writer of the first generation. Her poems were frequently published, and were held in high repute in their day. Cotton Mather has preserved the following high-wrought epigram composed upon these poems, which will serve to show us how much admired she was as an authoress.

“ Now I believe tradition, which doth call
The muses, virtues, graces, females all,
Only they are not nine, eleven, or three ;
Our authoress proves them but an unity.
Mankind, take up some blushes on the score ;
Monopolize perfection hence no more.
In your own arts confess yourselves outdone ;
The moon hath totally eclipsed the sun :
Not with her sable mantle muffing him,
But her bright silver makes his gold look dim :
Just as his beams force our pale lamps to wink,
And earthly fires within their ashes shrink.”

This manuscript volume of hers, in her own hand-writing, is dedicated to her “Dear Son Simon Bradstreet,” the father of our minister, and contains seventy-seven “Meditations, Divine and Moral,” which she had intended to continue through the volume, as we are told in a note written by her son, “but was prevented by death.”

I wish I had space to present copious extracts from these truly wise and pious meditations ; they evince not only a thoughtful experience of life, but also a tender and chastened spirit of piety. Sure I am that no mother, who loves her children with a Christian as well as natural affection, can read these expressions of maternal love without having her sensibilities touched, and feeling herself quickened in duty. I will extract the first seven or eight meditations in the order in which they are written.

“ 1. There is no object that we see, no action that we do, no good that we enjoy, no evil that we feel or fear, but we may make some spiritual advantage of all ; and he that makes such improvement is wise as well as pious.

“ 2. Many can speak well, but few can do well. We are better scholars in the theory than the practise part ; but he is a true Christian that is a proficient in both.

"3. Youth is the time of getting, middle age of improving, and old age of spending. A negligent youth is usually attended by an ignorant middle age, and both by an empty old age. He that hath nothing to feed on but vanity and lies, must needs lie down in the bed of sorrow.

"4. A ship that bears much sail, and little or no ballast, is easily overset; and that man whose head hath great abilities, and his heart little or no grace, is in danger of foundering.

"5. It is reported of the peacock, that, priding himself in his gay feathers, he ruffles them up; but, spying his black feet, he soon lets fall his plumes. So he that glories in his gifts and adornings should look upon his corruptions, and that will damp his high thoughts.

"6. The finest bread hath the least bran, the purest honey the least wax, and the sincerest Christian the least self-love.

"7. The hireling that labors all the day, comforts himself that when night comes he shall both take his rest and receive his reward. The painful Christian, that hath wrought hard in God's vineyard, and hath borne the heat and drought of the day, when he perceives his sun apace to decline, and the shadows of his evening to be stretched out, lifts up his head with joy, knowing his refreshing is at hand.

"8. Downy beds make drowsy persons, but hard lodging keeps the eyes open. A prosperous state makes a secure Christian, but adversity makes him consider."

These meditations are not selected, but the first eight in order. The last, the seventy-seventh, is as follows:

"77. God hath by his providence so ordered that no one country hath all commodities within itself, but what it wants, another shall supply, that so there may be a mutual commerce through the world. As it is with countries, so it is with men; there was never yet any one man that had all excellencies, let his parts natural and acquired, spiritual and moral, be never so large, yet he stands in need of something which another man hath, perhaps meaner than himself, which shows us perfection is not below, as also that God will have us beholden one to another."

The volume I am describing contains also, in the handwriting of her son, another production of Mrs. Bradstreet's, entitled,

"A true copy of a book left by my honored and dear mother to her children, and found among some papers after her death." The manuscript begins thus :

"TO MY DEAR CHILDREN.

"This book, by any yet unread,
I leave for you when I am dead ;
That, being gone, here you may find
What was your loving mother's mind.
Make use of what I leave in love,
And God shall bless you from above.

A. B.

"*My dear Children*,—I knowing by experience that the exhortations of parents take most effect when the speakers leave to speak, and those especially sink deepest which are spoke latest ; and being ignorant whether on my death-bed I shall have opportunity to speak to any one of you, much less to all ; thought it the best, whilst I was able, to compose some short matters (for what else to call them I know not) and bequeath to you, that when I am no more with you, yet I may be daily in your remembrance (although that is the least in my aim, in what I now do) but that you may gain some spiritual advantage by my experience. I have not studied in this you read to show my skill, but to declare the truth ; not to set forth myself, but the glory of God. If I had minded the former, it had been perhaps better pleasing to you ; but seeing the last is the best, let it be best pleasing to you."

She then proceeds to give an account of "God's dealing with her from her childhood to that day ;" the influences under which her religious character was trained ; the afflictions through which she had been carried by trust in God. There are interwoven with this personal narrative, quite a number of original hymns and poems, which are imbued with the same deeply religious spirit as her prose compositions.

I cannot look upon this relic of the piety and parental faithfulness of a by-gone age, without peculiar interest and emotion. The solicitude which this Puritan mother exhibits for the eternal welfare of her children in the lines she penned and left for them to read "when she was dead," appeals to the tenderest sensibilities of the heart. Although her poetry will not com-

pare with that of many female writers of the present day ; yet the mother and the Christian spoke in every line she wrote—a meed of praise to which but few of the daughters of song can lay claim. That woman deserves more of posterity, and has a better title to immortality, who, like Mrs. Bradstreet, by her wisdom and piety has bequeathed a sanctifying influence to generation after generation of her descendants, than she, who, Sappho-like, has caught the inspiration of genius, and poured forth the sweetest strains of poesy.

When Mrs. Bradstreet came to this country, although it was from the bosom of cultivated society to a wilderness, she did it without repining ; for she was sustained by a lofty faith, and a Christian mother's heart, desiring for her children a crown of life, rather than earthly distinctions. But her maternal faithfulness was no more marked than the blessing with which God followed her exertions, and sealed his fidelity to that covenant in which he engages to be the God of the believer and of his children after him. Her son, who bore her husband's name, and to whom she dedicated her "*Meditations*," spent his days in the ministry at New London ; and his son was the pastor of this church for forty years. The fourth who bore the name of Simon Bradstreet, (the son of the last named,) was a baptized child of this church, and spent his life in the ministry at Marblehead. The reverence he was taught to feel for his pious ancestor is testified by this book, for he translated her letter of dedication to his grandfather into Latin, and also began the translation of the meditations.

Anna Bradstreet, her children, and children's children, to the third and fourth generations, now sleep in death ; but her influence lives,—how widely God only knows, how happily eternity only will reveal. Christian mothers ! your influence must also live to mould the character and destiny of your posterity. May God give you grace that when you and your children appear in his presence, it may be to rejoice together in the fruits of parental faithfulness !

LECTURE VII.

PSALM cxxvi. 3—6.

THE LORD HATH DONE GREAT THINGS FOR US, WHEREOF WE ARE GLAD. TURN AGAIN OUR CAPTIVITY, O LORD, AS THE STREAMS IN THE SOUTH. THEY THAT SOW IN TEARS SHALL REAP IN JOY. HE THAT GOETH FORTH AND WEEPETH, BEARING PRECIOUS SEED, SHALL DOUBTLESS COME AGAIN WITH REJOICING, BRINGING HIS SHEAVES WITH HIM.

WE resume our narrative to mention the death of Mr. Stevens, and to add some particulars respecting his character. I have already said that his ministry was a short one, extending through a period of only eight years; he was suddenly cut down in the fortieth year of his age, and in the midst of his usefulness, by the small-pox, a distemper which had now for the second time spread death through the town, and for the second time stricken down the shepherd of this flock.

We can, at this distance of time, form but a faint conception of the distress and agitation of mind, which the ravages of this disease occasioned. The rich and the poor were attacked indiscriminately; almost every house was filled with mourning, and some families were nearly exterminated. The register of deaths contains the names of one hundred and seventeen who died in this place of the small pox in the space of about six months; during the same period, about eight hundred died in the town of Boston. But no family appears to have suffered more severely than that of our pastor, the Rev. Mr. Stevens; taking the disorder, probably, as his predecessor, Mr. Shepard had done, by visiting his dying parishioners, he deceased on the 16th of November, 1721, and on the same day his only daughter, his wife's sister, and her servant. His son Joseph fell a victim to the distemper ten days after, and his widow on the 8th of

the following month. So that of a family which, on the 16th of November, numbered a father, mother, daughter, and two sons, on the 8th of the following month only one remained, an infant son of seven months. This member of the family, however, was spared, and having completed his education, entered the ministry, and was settled at Kittery, in Maine, where he distinguished himself as a preacher, and became extensively known as the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Stevens. His daughter married the late Dr. Buckminster of Portsmouth, and became the mother of the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, late pastor of Brattle-street church, Boston.

The sudden and afflictive circumstances attending the death of Mr. Stevens, appear to have produced a deep sensation. He was at this time preaching a series of discourses on Hebrews xi. 16: "But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly." The subject of his first discourse was, "That there is another world after this, even an heavenly." On the 5th of November, he preached the second of this series, which was the last he ever delivered, in which, with great elevation of thought and feeling, he endeavored to show "that the heavenly world is a better world than this." In the two next discourses, it was his purpose to show that we should chiefly desire this better country, and that all true believers do so; but before the middle of the week, he was seized with the pestilence, and died on Thursday of the week following, but not alone, for on Saturday evening his only daughter, and his sister, were borne with him and laid in the same tomb. A most affecting illustration of the instability of all human plans! Before he had finished a short course of four sermons on the heavenly country, he was called to enter it, and experience the joys he was designing to portray for the benefit of his people. And such was the interest with which these discourses were listened to, and so cherished his memory, that, at the request of many of the flock, they were published, under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Colman, minister of the Brattle-street church, Boston, who prefaced them with some account of their author.

From this source, we learn that Mr. Stevens was possessed of great personal beauty, and no less distinguished for the brilliant qualities of his mind. His countenance was grave and

florid, of a sweet expression, and full of life and vigor. He excelled in conversation, and the modesty of his deportment, gave a singular grace to an air of superiority and dignity that was natural to him. In the delivery of his sermons, he was distinguished for his animation; his eyes as well as his tongue were wont to speak with such majesty as well as solemnity, as commanded the ears and hearts of his audience. Indeed, his natural accomplishments were such, that while they formed a distinguished divine, they might have qualified him equally as a judge or commander, had Providence called him to the bench or the field.

"The first time I saw Mr. Stevens," says Dr. Colman, "he gained my esteem. It was as he stood for his first degree, when he so distinguished himself in the exercise for the day, that I sought out his chamber to encourage him in his studies, and congratulated his father upon the favor of God to him in so promising a son. Others also, better judges than I, spake of him that day with great esteem and applause; nor did he fail the expectations he had raised in us. Being formed by the Father of spirits for thinking, and loving his studies, he soon became eminent for his years in acquired learning, and was chosen a tutor in the college whereof he was an ornament. From the college he was called into the pastoral office at Charlestown; and a precious gift of Christ he was to them, to whom I need not say how he was among them, laboring in the word and doctrine, and ministering to their souls. He was eloquent and fervent in the pulpit, solemn in praying and preaching, cheerful and grave in his common conversation, wise in his conduct, gentle as a father, and naturally caring for the flock, endearing and endeared; more especially he was an example of profound respect to the senior pastor, the Rev. Mr. Bradstreet, who, through the favor of God, still continues with us, and is every way the fittest person to have prefaced these sermons, and most able to have spoken of his dear deceased colleague, who was with him as a son with a father in the work of the ministry. In short, he was a pastor deservedly beloved and desired by his people. I might justly repeat here much of the character that was given some years ago, upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Brattle and Mr. Pemberton, the beauties of whose souls seemed to survive in Mr. Stevens; the meekness of the

one, and the fervor of the other. How bright this shade! He was early chose a fellow of the corporation, and of a dutiful and affectionate son, he became a careful and tender father, and a very faithful servant of the college, of the rights and interests whereof he was a wise and religious judge. When I remember the spirit and force with which he conversed and taught among us, methinks he yet seemed meant for many a year to come, and that his children's children might have known his aged face, and been taught by him; but the burning and shining light was lent us for a few days to rejoice in; and who shall say unto Him that formed and gave him, why is he so soon taken away? To himself it seemed not too soon or sudden, being helped by God to meet his death with a most happy composure, calmness, constancy, serenity and peace; committing himself to God with becoming devotion, naming and taking leave of his friends with devout affection, praying for the flock, and blessing his family with his dying breath. But the sovereignty of God is unsearchable in the great and wide breaches on his family; himself, his wife and two children dying of the small-pox within a few weeks, and only one single branch left, his Benjamin! whose blessing let be (by the will of God) according to his name: 'Beloved of the Lord, and dwelling in his temple and covered by his sanctuary. Deut. xxxiii. 12.' "

I have also been put in possession of a manuscript volume, originally owned by Mr. Stevens, in which he has written a sermon, and various memoranda of a literary and personal character.¹ The sermon was preached by him, on the 23d of August, 1707, and is, therefore, one of his earliest discourses. It is founded upon Luke xiii. 2, 3: "And Jesus answering, said unto them, Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans because they suffered such things? I tell you nay; but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." It is a very serious and pungent discourse, teaching "that the sharpest miseries, or saddest periods of this life are no demonstrative arguments to conclude the greatest sinners;" and "that all those who do not unfeignedly repent of their sins will certainly perish." And having discussed these points at con-

¹ Note 42.

siderable length, he concludes with a doxology to the Holy Trinity.

After the death of Mr. Stevens, Mr. Bradstreet was without any settled assistant for more than two years, until February 5th, 1724, when the Rev. Hull Abbot was ordained associate pastor. This gentleman was a native of Boston, where he was born June 15, 1702. His father appears to have followed the seas, for he was lost at sea in February, 1718, when his son was between fifteen and sixteen. He was educated at Harvard College, and is said to have been the first student who received assistance from the Hollis fund. In the year 1731, 27th July, he became united by marriage to Mary Bradstreet, the daughter of the senior pastor of the church. Mr. Abbot was pastor of the church for more than fifty years. For about fifteen years he was associated with his father-in-law, in performing the labors of the ministry; but the infirmities of Mr. Bradstreet rendering him unable to preach, the people became desirous of having another minister settled, and accordingly the Rev. Thomas Prentice was installed an associate pastor, October 3d, 1739.¹ The death of Mr. Bradstreet took place on the 31st December, 1741.

We have now arrived at a period when it will be necessary to say something of the state of practical religion. It was under the joint ministry of Abbot and Prentice, and very soon after the settlement of the latter, that the Great Awakening commenced in this region, under the preaching of the eloquent Whitefield and other divines of our own country. To account for the great excitement of this period, and the widespread consequences for good and evil which followed from it, we must begin with the religious declension that preceded it, and the causes which for a long time had been operating to bring on this declension. The churches, and to no inconsiderable extent the ministry, had undergone a material change from what they were originally; their creed indeed remained the same, but the spirit with which they held it, was a very different one from that of the fathers. Evidence of personal religion not being strictly required of those who approached the sacraments of the church, a profession of religion, as it became more

¹ Note 43.

general, became less significant than formerly. The members of the church were, in not a few instances, confessedly ignorant of experimental religion. A similar degree of laxity in admitting candidates to the ministry, had produced similar results, and the character of the clergy corresponded, as it always will, with that of the churches.

This unhappy decline was caused in the first instance, perhaps, by the connection of our churches with the state. It is to be remembered that at the time our country was settled, the independence of church and state was a thing entirely unknown throughout Christendom ; nor was it supposed possible that either could exist without the assistance of the other. Our Puritan fathers, in the establishment of their civil and ecclesiastical institutions, went further than any before them had ever gone in rendering the church independent of the state ; but still there was a real union between the two. No man could vote or hold an office unless he were a member of the church. This principle, although in all its modifications it is unjust and hurtful, would have been accompanied with less inconvenience in practice, had the terms of communion been in this country, what they were in England, a good moral character, or rather exemption from scandalous vices. But when it came to be applied in connection with the very strictest terms of communion—distinct and satisfactory evidence of regeneration—a condition of membership which was regarded by the fathers as essential to the life of our churches ; it became of all principles the most preposterous and pernicious. For as a matter of course, when church-membership was a condition of the right of suffrage, it became an object of worldly ambition, as much as any thing else which might be necessary to obtain the rights of a freeman. At first, the number of those who were outside of the pale of the church was comparatively small ; but very soon, by the rapid increase of population, and by continual immigrations from England, not only the number, but the proportion of the disfranchised was increased, and thousands began to clamor for their rights. It required but little acquaintance with human nature to foresee, that, as a consequence of this ill-advised law, the constitution of the churches would be trampled under foot, and the strict terms of com-

munion, established by the fathers, be reduced so as to extend the right of suffrage to the multitudes who desired and deserved it. This result was at length effected, not indeed by the aggrieved, but by those who introduced the half-way-covenant, a covenant which went half way to full communion, far enough to give those who embraced it the right of church-membership, and the privilege of baptism for their households, but not far enough to entitle them to partake of the Lord's supper. It required that those who entered into it, should renew their baptismal vows, and subject themselves and their families to the watch and discipline of the church. Had the theory of that covenant been carried out, it might have been the source of all the good anticipated ; but probably it was the vice of the system that it could not be carried out faithfully. It was looked upon by many as a form, devised to procure a respectable standing in the community ; and it was practiced as a form, with no intention to discharge the duties, or submit to the discipline it implied. In this way it happened that the discipline of the churches was neglected ; indeed, so numerous had the children of the covenant become, that it became well nigh impossible to exercise a faithful discipline, inasmuch as almost the whole community were members of the church by baptism.

In addition to these causes, it became, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the prevailing opinion that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was a converting ordinance, and consequently that all who were seriously disposed to use the means of grace, were to be invited to it. This of course put an end to discipline, and soon destroyed the distinctive character of the churches. It was also disseminating a new theology, which taught that man's duty was to attend upon the means of grace, in hope that God would, at some future time, see fit to bestow renewing grace. This was the seminal principle of Arminianism, as distinguished from Calvinism. The first-mentioned system did not deny any of the cardinal doctrines of the Scriptures, but was chiefly to be distinguished from the last by its practical spirit. The Arminian, while he admitted the doctrines of the Gospel, would speak rather of its precepts ; while he believed in the necessity of regeneration by the Spirit of God, and the doctrine of justification by faith alone, he would exhort sinners to the faithful performance of moral duties, trust-

ing in God that he would secretly perform his work in the heart. Such was the state of things the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Arminianism was not publicly avowed, for it was generally the people's abhorrence; but it was secretly cherished, and it was gradually gaining strength in consequence of the lax practices of the church. In a word, it was the beginning of an apostasy from the principles of the fathers, which has issued in the present century in a division of the Congregational churches into two denominations.

In the book of admissions to the church, we find the years 1728 and 1741, distinguished for the number received into our communion. The first mentioned, was the year after the great earthquake, which took place October 29, 1727, and shook the whole country north of the Delaware river. It was on the night of the Sabbath, a calm and serene evening. "About forty minutes past ten o'clock," says Mr. Prince, pastor of the Old South church, "was heard a loud, hollow noise, like the roaring of a great chimney on fire, but inconceivably more fierce and terrible. In about a half a minute, the earth began to heave and tremble. The shock increasing, rose to the height in about a minute more; when the movables, doors, windows, walls, especially in the upper chambers, made a very fearful clattering, and the houses rocked and crackled, as if they were all dissolving and falling to pieces. The people asleep were awakened with the greatest astonishment; many others affrighted, ran into the streets. But the shaking quickly abated, and in another half minute, entirely ceased."¹ The next morning a large assembly convened in the North church, Boston, for religious services; and in the evening, the First and South churches were crowded with attentive auditories. The ministers availed themselves of this opportunity, and preached the gospel with renewed faithfulness to an awakened people. And as a consequence of these efforts, and by the blessing of God, large numbers were added to the several churches in Boston, and upwards of seventy to the communion of our own church during a period of six months. In the year 1735, a remarkable attention to religion took place in Northampton, under the ministry of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards. This may

¹ Wisner's Hist. O. S. Chh. p. 25. See also Note 44.

be regarded as the commencement of the "Great Awakening."¹ It was a scene which I need not describe, for happily the grace of God has so multiplied them, that we are all familiar with them. "The town," says Edwards, "seemed to be full of the presence of God: it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house.—Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assembly in general were, from time to time, in tears while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for the souls of their neighbors."²

But there was no general religious movement in this vicinity until the autumn of 1740, when the Rev. George Whitefield arrived in Boston, being invited by some of the most eminent ministers and laymen. The week after his arrival, he preached in this place, and says, "A gracious melting was discernible through the whole congregation, and I perceived much freedom and sweetness in my own soul." And again he preached in this place a short time after (being accompanied by Mr. Cooper, of the Brattle street church, in Boston) "with much demonstration of the Spirit," and collected £156 for his orphan house—a sum of money which shows how powerfully his magic eloquence wrought upon the benevolent sympathies of the people.

Mr. Whitefield remained in this vicinity about a month, preaching to immense congregations, and with results apparently the most happy. After he left, the attention of the people continued, and for two years, the revival seemed to deepen and extend.

"In this year, 1741," says Mr. Prince of Boston, "the very face of the town seemed to be strangely altered. Some who had not been here since the fall before, have told me their great surprise at the change in the general look and carriage

¹ For a full history of this religious movement, compare Pres. Edwards's "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England;" Dr. Chauncey's "Seasonable Thoughts;" Tracy's "Great Awakening;" Bacon's "Historical Discourses," and Dutton's "History of the North Church in New Haven."

² Edwards's Narrative of Surprising Conversions.

of people, as soon as they landed.—And one of our worthy gentlemen expressing his wonder at the remarkable change, informed me, that whereas he used with others on Saturday evenings to visit the taverns, in order to clear them of town inhabitants, they were wont to find many there, and meet with trouble to get them away; but now, having gone at those seasons again, he found them empty of all but lodgers.”¹

About eighty persons appear to have been gathered into our church as fruits of this revival.

Had these been the only consequences of that excitement, we should have occasion for unmixed gratitude to God. But a wild fanaticism sprung up, to which even the sober and judicious for a time gave their influence, and which brought the genuine work of God into discredit with no small part of the community. The fervent piety and Christian zeal of Mr. Whitefield, are as unquestionable, as his eloquence and power over human hearts. But his career, for brilliancy and success, was so bewitching, that many lost sight of its erratic character, and seemed to forget that if it should be sanctioned as a precedent, it would be the destruction of the regular ministry, and in the end productive of infinitely more evil than good.

The confusion and extravagance which followed in the train of the great revival of 1740, constitutes one of the saddest and yet one of the most instructive lessons of our religious history. There is a great law in the moral world, as in the natural, that action and re-action are equal. To whatever extent we go beyond the bounds of reason in our efforts to promote the cause of truth, to at least an equal extent will that cause recede, and error gain ground. Before the days of Whitefield, practical religion was, no doubt, at a low ebb; and when the awakening began, one extreme begat another—the new movement derived an impulse from the previous neglect into which spiritual religion had fallen. But the final issues of that religious “awakening,” like those of every other, have fully proved that true religion can never be permanently advanced, except by the instrumentality of God’s appointment—a regular and settled ministry. It cannot admit of a doubt, that, while Mr. Whitefield’s apostolic labors were

¹ Tracy’s Great Awakening, p. 120.

attended by many of the happiest results, they were likewise productive of no small amount of evil, by giving dignity to itinerants, who, as a class, always have been injurious to a community, in which the institutions of religion are established.

Mr. Whitefield was succeeded, as might have been anticipated, by men who had little else than their zeal to commend them; who, mistaking a blind impulse for a monition of the Spirit of God, left their appropriate sphere of action, and taking upon themselves the supervision of the ministry, and the care of all the churches, proceeded to examine their brethren and fathers in the ministry, pronounce upon their character and usefulness, and thus trumpet their own censoriousness, while they spread division and alienation through the community. These clerical itinerants were again, in their turn, imitated and followed by lay exhorters, who added ignorance to zeal, and rapidly brought their cause into contempt.

Of the former class, one of the most notorious was the Rev. James Davenport, of Southold, Long Island. Impelled by enthusiastic impulses, he left his own people unprovided for, and began to itinerate among the churches. He arrived at Charlestown, Friday evening, June 25th, 1742. Till this event, the revival of religion had happily advanced among the people. On the Lord's day he attended public worship, and communed with this church. From a manuscript journal,¹ I learn that Mr. Prentice preached that morning from Matthew v. 6: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." In the afternoon Mr. Abbot preached from 2 Corinthians v. 14, 15: "For the love of Christ constraineth us," &c.; but Mr. Davenport "stayed at his lodgings from an apprehension of the ministers being unconverted, which greatly alarmed us," says Prince. The next day Mr. Davenport went to Boston, and the associated pastors of Boston and Charlestown being then assembled, they sent a communication to him, and requested an interview, to which he readily consented. In the declaration which they published on Friday, they say that Mr. Davenport "appeared to them truly pious;"

¹ By the kindness of G. A. Kettell, Esq., I have been put in possession of several little MS. volumes containing very full notes of the sermons preached in Charlestown for many successive years.

but so misguided that he was acting to the great disservice of religion, and that they therefore judged it to be their duty not to invite him into their places of worship. But they availed themselves of this opportunity to repeat their "testimony to the great and glorious work of God among them."

This was signed by the two pastors of this church, and all the ministers of Boston, except Dr. Chauncy.

"By this declaration, however," says Mr. Prince, "many were offended ; and some days after, Mr. Davenport thought himself obliged to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also ; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us: which so diverted the minds of many from being concerned about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others, as not only seemed to put an awful stop to their awakenings, but on all sides to roil our passions and provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence." ¹

A disputatious and censorious spirit prevailed ; and lamentable was the state of things that ensued after the "great awakening."

So strongly were a large portion of the ministers excited against these recent disorders and extravagances, that the General Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, at their annual meeting, in May, 1743, bore testimony against several errors in doctrine, and disorders in practice ; among which were "itinerancy," lay preaching, censorious judgment of others, and enthusiastic emotions mistaken for the operations of the divine Spirit.

While all these errors no doubt existed, and as such deserved censure, still the action of the Convention gave offence to a large proportion of the ministers of the colony, because no recognition was made of God's grace in the recent glorious awakening.

Accordingly a meeting was called of such as were "persuaded there has of late been a happy revival of religion, through an extraordinary divine influence." About ninety pastors of churches responded to this call, and met in Boston, July 7, 1743.

¹ Christian Hist. II. 408, quoted by Tracy.

They drew up a paper entitled "Testimony and Advice," which was a warm hearted and grateful acknowledgement of the grace of God in the late revival, and an earnest exhortation against the disorders which had been brought to the prejudice of a genuine work of God's grace. This paper was signed by most of the ministers in this vicinity, and a large number from different parts of New England. The two pastors of this church united with fourteen others in signing the Testimony, "for the substance of it, excepting that article of itinerancy, or ministers and others intruding into other ministers' parishes without their consent, which great disorder they apprehended not sufficiently testified against therein."

In this "Testimony and Advice," they say—

"We, whose names are hereunto annexed, pastors of churches in New England, met together in Boston, July 7, 1743, think it our indispensable duty, (without judging or censuring such of our brethren as cannot at present see things in the same light with us,) in this open and conjunct manner to declare, to the glory of sovereign grace, our full persuasion, either from what we have seen ourselves, or received upon credible testimony, that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land, through an uncommon divine influence; after a long time of great decay and deadness, and a sensible and very awful withdraw of the Holy Spirit from his sanctuary among us." And then after "freely declaring their thoughts as to this work of God," they say—

"And now, we desire to bow the knee in thanksgiving to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that our eyes have seen and our ears heard such things. And while these are our sentiments, we must necessarily be grieved at any accounts sent abroad, representing this work as all enthusiasm, delusion and disorder."

That there had been "irregularities, extravagances and dangerous mistakes," they admitted; but they regarded them as spots in the sun.

Concerning the statements and views of the pastors attending this meeting, Mr. Prince says, that very few complained of errors or disorders in the parishes they belonged to; and that others declared that where there had been some disorders at first, yet in a little while they saw and owned their mistakes,

and that both errors and disorders were greatly magnified and multiplied, and existed to the greatest degree in those places where the ministers opposed the work.¹

Indeed, it is manifest, that the great body of the pastors were disposed to make a just discrimination; while they acknowledged with gratitude the fact of the late revival, they were opposed to irregular ministrations, and to the excesses with which some of the friends of the work were chargeable.

But besides this moderate class, there were others who were verging to opposite extremes.

There were on the one hand those hot-headed, but well-meaning men, who were so intent upon immediate results, as to be careless of the principles upon which they acted, and the consequences that were likely to ensue. Of these, the most prominent was the Rev. James Davenport. But it is due to this gentleman to say, that during a portion of his career, he was obviously insane, and that he was finally brought to perceive his errors, and publish an humble confession.

There were those on the other hand who confined their attention to the disorders and errors that were to be found in connection with the revival, and were unwilling to admit the existence of a work of God, but pronounced it all a pernicious enthusiasm. Of these, the principal leader and champion was Rev. Dr. Chauncy, one of the pastors of the First church, Boston. This gentleman wrote and published much in opposition to the religious movements of the day. While Edwards and other friends of the revival, from the warmth of their interest in it, gave too much encouragement to mere ebullitions of excitement, and spoke with indiscreet lenity of errors, which they ought pointedly to have condemned; Dr. Chauncy was led by his disgust for the excesses of the day, to overlook and deny what was really a "great awakening" of our slumbering churches to truth and righteousness. It is melancholy as well as instructive, to observe the progress of Dr. Chauncy's mind. Putting himself in the attitude of an opposer, and starting with premises which were in the main both scriptural and reasonable, he prosecuted the course he had taken, till he left the platform of the Fathers, and in

¹ Tracy's Great Awakening, chap. xvi.

the advocacy of heresy, drew after him the venerable church of Wilson and Cotton, of which ours had been the twin sister, and with which, till then, it had been united in the same faith and hope.

The great lesson which the history of this period is fitted to teach, is, that the mistakes and indiscretions of the friends of truth, are of all the most hurtful, and instead of being palliated and forgiven because of their connection, they should on that very account be the more severely dealt with. One extreme begets another. And when our churches, awakening from deep lethargy, pushed certain truths of our religion to an extreme which disturbed the analogy of faith, they paved the way for the introduction of fundamental error.

LECTURE VIII.

PSALM lxxvii. 11—13.

I WILL REMEMBER THE WORKS OF THE LORD; SURELY I WILL REMEMBER THY WONDERS OF OLD. I WILL MEDITATE ALSO OF ALL THY WORK, AND TALK OF THY DOINGS. THY WAY, O GOD, IS IN THE SANCTUARY: WHO IS SO GREAT A GOD AS OUR GOD!

IN the previous Lectures I have detained your attention upon memorials of the first century;—of the last hundred years I shall speak more briefly—the facts are for the most part familiar, and of some of them the time has not come to write a full and impartial history. Besides this, during the last century religion occupied a smaller share of the public attention than previously; ecclesiastical affairs receded from the field of public discussion, and political matters grew in importance and interest, until at length the energies of both clergy and people were absorbed in the struggle for national independence. I shall, therefore, pass very rapidly over our later history, and avoid for the most part those personal details which I have made it a point to collect in regard to the previous pastors.

After the great awakening which followed the visit of Whitefield to our country, and of which a narrative was given in the last Lecture, little or nothing occurred to diversify our religious history till the Revolution. The church remained under the joint ministry of Rev. Messrs. Abbot and Prentice, until the death of Mr. Abbot, which took place April 19, 1774, after a ministry of more than fifty years, a longer period of time than any other pastor ever served the church. He was honorably interred by the town, and the body was borne to the grave by Dr. Appleton, Mr. Storer, Dr. Mather, Dr. Byles, Mr. Pren-

tice and Mr. Cook. He would have completed his seventy-second year the 15th of June following.¹

Mr. Abbot was an orthodox and able minister, and maintained a respectable standing among the clergy of his day. A number of his manuscript sermons are among us, and so far as I am enabled to judge, they are characterized by sound doctrine and ministerial faithfulness. Of his published productions, I have perused only a sermon preached before "The Honorable Artillery Company, June 2, 1735."² The text was taken from the triumphant song of Moses: "The Lord is a man of war." Exodus xv. 3. The discourse maintains the doctrine, that "The Lord God of Israel, is eminently a man of war." This startling proposition he carries out into the following particulars: "He is the chief and absolute monarch and commander of all the creatures which he has made; he disposes men's hearts to engage in wars and battles; he musters the forces together, and leads them as their general into the field of battle; he instructs the people in the art and mystery of war, and endows them with martial skill and valor; he hath the absolute disposals of all the weapons in the day of battle; he causes it to continue or cease whenever he pleases, and overrules the great events of it, and gives success and victory to whomsoever he pleases." From the character of God as thus described, he derived the following inferences and reflections: "We see something of the majesty and glory of the God of Israel, for which he is greatly to be feared and praised by his people; we see hence the lawfulness of war and of the military art; since God is styled a man of war, the office of a soldier should be esteemed an honorable profession and employment; since the Holy God is styled a man of war, all soldiers and men of war should be holy; we see hence where soldiers must repair for, and to whom they must give the glory of their military skill, valor and success in wars, viz., to the God of armies, who is eminently a man of war; we learn that war is a most sore and desolating judgment inflicted by the Lord himself." This representation of the divine character and of the moral nature of war, would not only be offensive to the advo-

¹ Note 45.

² Note 46.

cates of what are called "peace principles;" but would be objected to by all classes of Christians at the present day, as being alike untrue to the interpretation of Scripture and to the spirit of the gospel. There is no doubt that our fathers looked upon war with different feelings from what we are accustomed to do; and that in this respect the spirit of Christianity is more correctly apprehended now, than formerly; yet the sermon of which I have just given a synopsis, can hardly be looked upon as a faithful index of the public sentiment at that day, or indeed of the author's own principles; it has a greater apparent than real contrariety to the reigning opinions of modern Christians. But if a choice must be made between two extremes, the error of our fathers is a less mischievous one than that modern extravagance which denies to individuals and communities the inalienable right of self-defence, dissolves the bands of government, and supplants the authority of law with idle talk of moral suasion.

The death of Mr. Abbot, left Mr. Prentice the sole pastor of the church, and dissolved the last colleague pastorship which has existed in this church. There is a tradition that an unhappy difference existed between these associate ministers; and the story is probably not altogether without foundation; and this we may believe without charging these excellent men with any greater infirmities than belong to men generally. The occasion if not the cause for this, lay in the indeterminate and somewhat inconsistent relations of two pastors, sustaining the same relations to the same people. This infelicity did not originally attach to the associate ministry, as established by the puritan fathers of our churches. They, you will remember, divided the duties of the ministry into two distinct classes, to correspond with the scriptural titles teacher and pastor, giving to one the business of doctrinal instruction, and to the other that of exhortation and pastoral visitation. The only practical objection that can be brought against this distinction, is the difficulty of maintaining it;—after the death of the elder Shepard, it seems to have been lost sight of, and each minister was settled with the title of pastor, and ordained to the discharge of the same duties. Hence arose those practical difficulties which have resulted in the general discontinuance of a col-

league ministry. No man, however excellent his disposition, or superior his qualifications, can work happily and well, unless his duties and his rights are clearly defined and carefully respected. The experience of mankind, in all the relations of life, has shown this to be the principal law upon which the harmony of men is dependent; most of the bickerings and alienations of human life, arise in the beginning from a misapprehension of common rights or mutual obligations; and oftentimes the only method of composing these differences, notwithstanding the utmost good feeling on one or both sides, is that adopted by Abram, when he said unto Lot, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left-hand, then I will go to the right; or, if thou depart to the right-hand, then I will go to the left." That must indeed be a perfect character, which, in the continual friction of daily contact, does not present unevenness enough to fret and inflame some peculiarities of disposition in another. It is dangerous to interfere with the regular operation of the laws which the Creator has established. There can be no unity without some one acknowledged head; and without unity there can be no harmony. God, therefore, has organized individuals into families, and families into communities. Some duties and rights belong exclusively to the individual; others to the head of the family; and others again to the head of the community. If these relations of society are disturbed, these rights and duties commingled, confusion and conflict will inevitably be the consequence, and that too, notwithstanding the utmost excellence of personal character. We should be inclined, therefore, to refer any differences that may have existed between Mr. Abbot and Mr. Prentice, to the confusion of their relations to the church; and would not remember them to the prejudice of either, but forget them, or remember them only in connection with the important moral lesson they illustrate.

Mr. Abbot died, as the date shows, just before the outbreak of the Revolution. On the 17th of June, in the following year, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the town reduced to ashes, and the people, with their surviving pastor, scattered to

find temporary homes as they might, in the neighboring towns. I may not dwell upon this memorable scene ; it belongs rather to the civil than the ecclesiastical historian. It is impossible to portray, as without experience it is impossible to conceive, the dismay of the people, when flying from their homes, the sepulchres of their fathers, and their ancient sanctuary, they looked behind them only to behold one wide conflagration spreading desolation from shore to shore. We cannot doubt that as the combatants on yonder hill, saw the flames shoot up and wind around the spire of our church, till, like a faithful sentinel, the first to meet the enemy, it fell first among the dwellings over which it had seemed to watch for three quarters of a century ; we cannot doubt that the sight sent a more desperate determination to the hearts of the patriots who were immortalizing themselves and the soil on which they stood, by their deeds of heroic valor, and deepened, in the minds of the spectators on the heights of Boston, the conviction, that the last tie was sundered which bound the daughter to the mother country !

We cannot tell how much was lost in that conflagration—how much that would have cast light upon the antiquities of this church and town—how much that might have served to connect us with the pilgrim fathers ; our communion plate, however, bearing in their inscriptions testimonies of the early piety of the church—our ancient and invaluable records, together with those of the town, were by some trust-worthy hands preserved ; and that this much was accomplished amid the bewildering excitement and terrors of that day, cannot fail to be a matter of grateful surprise.

“At this time,” say our church records, “upwards of three hundred and eighty dwelling houses and other buildings, valued at £156,960 18s. 8d., were consumed, and two thousand persons reduced from affluence and mediocrity, to the most aggravated exile.”

The Rev. Mr. Prentice retired to Cambridge, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his life. In a short time, however, the people began to return in considerable numbers, and the town to rise again from its ashes. After an interval of something like three years, the public worship of God, and the ordinances of religion, were re-established under

the ministry of the now aged Prentice. "The first administration of the Lord's supper," says Mr. Prentice (as quoted by Dr. Morse in the church records) "in Charlestown, since the destruction by the cruellest British enemies, was November 8, 1778, with great solemnity and fulness of members beyond expectation."

Upon the return of our people, they found themselves much in the same situation in which the first settlers were, except indeed that their means were more limited, and their condition, if possible, more deplorable. Winthrop and some of his companions possessed handsome fortunes; very few were poor—the body of them being of the middling class. But when the exiled inhabitants of Charlestown returned, they came, the most of them, with no possessions save the blackened sites of their once comfortable homes. They came not, with Winthrop, to behold the primitive forests of Mishawum, but to look upon a sight more forbidding—a naked and blackened soil; they feared to walk abroad, not lest the Indian should way-lay them, but lest they should fall into wells or cellars, which the fire had either uncovered or covered only to ensnare. Of course they had no fit place for their Sabbath assemblies, and, as at the beginning, they were under the necessity of fitting up a building erected for another purpose. This was a block-house, small, and rudely built, which stood where this church edifice now does, and was erected by the enemy, after the occupation of the town by their troops. Here the venerable Prentice met his people, and with his characteristic ardor, but with many evidences of broken strength, again preached to them the word of life. To this sacred hill—the first spot cleared by the hand of civilized man, when all around were the dark waters and frowning forests of a wild, uncultivated country—the spot from which the voice of prayer first ascended, and where the Pilgrims' 'hymn of lofty cheer first shook the desert's gloom;' hither again, after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, did their children resort to worship the God of their fathers, while yonder height was yet fresh with the memorials of the recent fight, and black desolation reigned over the peninsula.

I have received from aged members of the church, who recollect Mr. Prentice and the congregation of the block-house,

several interesting anecdotes illustrative of the character of the pastor, and the simple habits of the people. They tell us that Mr. Prentice was an energetic speaker, and retained his warmth of manner to the last, and that sometimes, through the quickness of his motions, his wig, in those days a principal article of dress, would be displaced; and on such occasions, his daughter noiselessly ascended the low platform upon which the sacred desk was placed, and re-adjusted his head-dress with her hands. On one occasion, through the failure of his memory, he omitted, for two successive Sabbaths previous to the annual thanksgiving, to read the proclamation, and his faithful daughter stepped into the aisle, and with filial obeisance, reminded him of the omission, which the father gratefully acknowledged, but his attempts to perform the duty were, through the infirmity of age, and the confusion of the moment, fruitless, and he was relieved by the proffered assistance of one of the deacons—Dea. Frothingham. These simple incidents, occurring as they did, in the solemn worship of God, without disturbing the gravity of the worshippers, represent the minister in the light of a father giving instruction to his family. We are told, that at length, through the utter failure of his memory, the pastor preached the same sermon over again in the afternoon, which he had just delivered in the morning; and this is said to have been the last Sabbath of his public ministry. He fell asleep and was gathered to his fathers, on the 17th of June, 1782, at the age of eighty. He was honorably interred in the burying-ground hill, at the expense of the town.¹

About this period of time, an effort was made to rebuild the meeting-house. The former meeting-house, it will be remembered, stood in the square; but in the month of October, 1782, the town granted to the parish the Town hill, for the purpose of erecting thereon a house for the public worship of God, on condition that the building be erected within the space of five years.² Accordingly, the requisite exertions were immediately commenced, and as the people were unable to perform the work without assistance, an appeal was made to the surrounding towns, by a brief from the legislature, which met

¹ Note 47.

² Note 48.

with a generous response ; and in 1783, a meeting-house was raised, seventy-two feet long, fifty-two wide, and twenty-seven high, to the eaves, with a lofty and beautiful steeple. A bell, 1300 pounds weight, was presented by Messrs. Champion, Dickason and Burgis, merchants of London, through the interest of Thomas Russell, Esq.¹ The meeting-house was not finished however for a number of years.

It deserves also to be mentioned here, that a separation took place about this time, between the town and parish business. Previous to the Revolution, all parish matters were attended to in the general meetings of the town ; but subsequently to this, the first parish was organized in connection with this church, and succeeded to all the rights and duties of the town, in reference to the support of the gospel.²

For about five years after the death of Mr. Prentice, the church and town were without a settled pastor. Public worship was, notwithstanding, maintained for the greater part of the time ; and when no minister could be obtained, the people crossed the ferry and joined some of the congregations in Boston. The church and parish made a number of attempts to obtain a minister, but without success, until November, 1786, when a unanimous call was extended to Mr. Joshua Paine, Jr., who accepted it, and was ordained January 10, 1787. This gentleman was the eldest son of the Rev. Joshua Paine, minister of the church in Sturbridge, in Worcester county. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1784, with distinguished honor, having the salutatory oration awarded him—the second honor of his class. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, on the 27th of February, 1788, having been pastor of the church only thirteen and a half months. His disease was the consumption, which he contracted by stooping over a low table, upon which he was accustomed to write in his study. He is represented by those who knew him, as a young man of decided piety, amiable manners, and promising talents as a preacher. “His sermons,” say our church records, in narrating the circumstances of his ordination and early death, “exhibited the piety of his heart ; and the exalted and social

¹ 2 Mass. H. S. Coll. ii. 170. Note 49.

² Note 50.

virtues of his mind secured the esteem and friendship of all his acquaintance, and presented an agreeable prospect of his usefulness in the ministry. He was sincerely lamented by all who knew him, and especially by the flock committed to his charge."

But I can in no way bring before you the character of Mr. Paine so well, as by quoting from the conclusion of the sermon preached on the occasion of his funeral, by the Rev. Dr. Thacher, pastor of the Brattle-street church, in Boston. The text was taken from Job xiv. 19: "Thou destroyest the hope of man." "Never," says the preacher, "was the declaration of the word of God upon which we have been meditating, more strikingly verified than it is this day. We had formed the most sanguine hopes of the future eminence and usefulness of our friend. We rejoiced in the union and harmony which so remarkably prevailed in this place. We looked forward to the temporal and spiritual prosperity of this town, which its pastor appeared so well calculated to promote. We anticipated the day when his praise should be in all the churches, and his value should be known universally to others, as it was then to his particular connections; and many of us hoped that, instead of being called to perform the sad offices which we are now paying to his remains, he would have lived to perform them for us!

"But God Almighty hath seen it best to disappoint our expectations, to destroy our hopes, and to show us that we should not trust in princes, nor in the sons of men. We see our friend and brother cut off in the morning of his days; we are called once more to mourn with this widowed-church, and we are 'sorrowing most of all this day, that we shall see his face no more.'

"There is a melancholy satisfaction in beholding the pictures of our friends when they are taken away from us; but there is not only a satisfaction, there is an advantage also in recollecting their characters, in recalling to our minds their good properties, that we may 'follow them so far as they followed Christ.' With this design, and by no means with the intention of flattering my departed friend, (for alas! his ears are closed in eternal silence, he can listen no more to the voice of flattery or of friendship!) you will permit me to mention some leading traits of his amiable character.

"There is no gift of nature which tends more to promote a man's happiness and usefulness, than what is commonly styled a good disposition. If a person possesses this disposition, he will conciliate affection and disarm resentment. He will endear himself to his friends and cause his enemies to be at peace with him. He will unite varying parties. He will prevent the collisions which stir up strife, and he will secure universal respect and esteem.

"And who, my brethren, possessed this qualification in a greater degree than the friend whom we this day lament? Kind, amiable, and conciliating; diffident of his own merit, and ready to acknowledge that of others; warm in his friendships, gentle in his manners, and graceful in his deportment, he acquired universal esteem and rendered himself greatly useful. Those who were the most intimate with him, esteemed him the most highly; and while he enjoyed many friends, he never had an enemy.

"This amiableness of disposition, and gentleness of manners, will not render a man respectable, unless he is favored with a good natural genius, and with strong powers of mind; and these advantages Mr. Paine, in a great degree, possessed. His understanding was good; his judgment was cool, and his memory was strong. He made good use of the advantages which an education of the most liberal kind gave him, and honored his instructors, while he adorned the university to which he belonged.

"All these talents, all these advantages, he devoted to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ in the ministry of the gospel. And in this important calling, it pleased God to render him very useful, for the little time which he was spared to us. With the modesty which becomes a young man, he pretended not to decide upon subjects of polemical divinity; but with the integrity which is indispensable from the character of a good minister, he preached 'Jesus Christ and him crucified.' 'Having separated himself, he sought and intermeddled with all wisdom;' and while he gave to other considerations their due weight, he fixed his principles 'on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.' His sermons were evangelical, judicious and practical, and his prayers breathed the spirit of true and genuine

devotion. In his pastoral office, he naturally cared for the state of his flock, and discovered the most earnest desires to promote their best interests, for time and eternity. He rejoiced in their joy—he mourned in their sorrow, and he took pains to know their situation, ‘visiting them from house to house.’

“But piety, true piety, deeply rooted in the heart, and acted out in the life, formed the brightest part of this good man’s character; but his piety was not glaring and ostentatious; it proclaimed not itself at the corners of the streets; but at the same time, it scorned to hide itself when it was proper for it to appear. It burnt with a pure and a steady flame, and others, ‘beholding it, have glorified their Father, who is in heaven.’

“A man of this character could not be inattentive to relative duties. He must have been dutiful as a son, affectionate as a brother, agreeable as a companion, and faithful as a friend. That Mr. Paine deserved all these epithets, the tears of those to whom he sustained these relations, are an ample testimony.

“It was this piety which supported him with such exemplary patience, through a long and painful sickness. It was his hope in the gospel, his reliance on the perfect righteousness of the Son of God, which gilded to him the dark valley of the shadow of death! which enabled him to exclaim, in the moment when the taper of life was quivering in the socket, and the agonies of dissolving nature racked his whole frame, ‘O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?’ The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law, but thanks be to God who giveth me the victory, through the Lord Jesus Christ!’ It was this hope, this assurance of his interest in the great atonement, which enabled him so frequently to say in the awful hour of death, ‘Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! why are thy chariot wheels so long in coming?’ and it was his firm faith in our divine and glorious Redeemer, which induced him to expire with the prayer of the martyr Stephen, ‘Lord Jesus, into thine hand I commit my spirit,’ quivering on his lips! Come, my brethren, ‘see how a Christian can die!’ see the triumphs of true religion over the most formidable enemies which are known to mankind! ‘Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace!’ * It is but a short

*“ Mr. Paine’s modesty and unostentatious disposition did not suffer him to say much dur-

time, my brethren of this church and congregation, since we rejoiced with you at the introduction of this our beloved brother to the work of the ministry among you. At this moment, I recollect the exultation of that day, and the bright and agreeable prospects which were before our eyes! Your union, your spiritual advantage, and the prosperity of this town, newly rising from its ashes, were prospects not too flattering for us rationally to indulge."

Thus suddenly and mournfully were the prospects of our church cut off, just as the people were beginning to fancy themselves secure once more in the enjoyment of their religious privileges. And when this bereavement is taken in connection with the external condition of the town at that time, it will appear the more severe. The people were few in number, and limited in pecuniary means. In the year 1785, the houses and inhabitants of the town were numbered, and the buildings on the peninsula, many of which were temporary and soon taken down, were found to be 151, and the population 550. The buildings without the neck, were 128, and the population 449.¹

Mr. Paine was the last of a long series of pastors who died in the ministry of this church, and were interred in this town. For more than one hundred and fifty years an unbroken line of ministers, whose united ministry amounts to two hundred and seventeen years, died, as they had lived, in the pastoral office, and laid down their bones with those of their people. The ashes of Symmes, Harvard, the Shepards—father and son, Morton, Bradstreet, Stevens, Abbot, Prentice and Paine, all now rest,

ing his illness. He contented himself with discovering a savor of religion upon his spirit, and expressing his submission to the will of heaven. But on the last night of his life, in which he was attended by his reverend father and another Christian friend, he appeared to give more indulgence to his feelings and to express more plainly the triumphs of his holy soul. In the agonies of death, he not only used the expressions above recited, but exclaimed with a smile, 'O my Jesus, why may I not come to thee? Is not my Saviour ready for me?' but at the same time expressed his desire and determination to be patient and to wait God's time. He kept calling upon his father to pray with him and to give him up solemnly to God, which was repeatedly done; and in these solemn offices of religion he expressed the greatest satisfaction. He appeared to have a very quick sensibility of his pains and distresses, for he said, 'This is hard work, but this is nothing to what Jesus underwent for me and my sins!' When, through extreme weakness, his sight failed him, he called for a candle, but perceiving this failure was a symptom of immediate death, he exclaimed, 'I am just going! Farewell, all my friends. Farewell all this world!' and then expired with the expression above related, in his mouth. There can be no doubt of the exact truth of this account; it was given me by a person of unquestionable veracity who was present, and I thought it proper to publish it, to the honor of free grace, and for the support of those saints who, 'through fear of death, are all their life time subject to bondage.' Pious and humble Christians often triumph the most sensibly in their last moments, and God causes their setting sun to shine with meridian brightness. 'May we die the death of the righteous, and may our latter end be like his.'"

¹ 2 Hist. Coll. ii. 169.

with the thousands to whom they ministered, in yonder burying-ground. But, what is certainly a remarkable circumstance, you will not find a single memorial to designate the spot where their once loved and honored remains are deposited. Some of them were laid in the ministers' tomb, and this you may distinguish by reading upon it the name of Captain Richard Sprague—that most munificent benefactor of this church—who left his house for the ministers to reside in while they lived, and his tomb that they might lie with him when they died. Where the remainder were interred, we may conjecture, but cannot know; their sepulchres are indeed with us unto this day; but we shall strain our eyes in vain to decypher the inscriptions they bore—the flood of years that has swept over them has worn them nearly smooth. Surely, their memories ought not to be suffered to perish on the soil, which in life they honored and blest; and it affords me pleasure to witness the cordial manner in which the proposition has been received, to place a tablet in the walls of our church, upon which their names shall be graven, to remind us and those who come after us, of their virtues and their services.¹

In leaving behind us these venerated men, and the times in which they lived, and advancing to what remains of our history, we leave behind the historic part, and come, almost immediately, into the present—agitated with exciting controversies that have not yet subsided. Hitherto the children of the Puritans had been of one faith and communion; they had walked to the house of God in company—they had taken sweet counsel together in the social interchanges of a community as closely cemented, and homogeneous, as any upon earth. The times were now coming for suspicions, heart-burnings, and angry discussions, which resulted in the running of division-lines through communities, churches and families. The faith which bore our Fathers over the waters, for which they braved the horrors of the wilderness and of savage warfare, which ultimately prepared them for, and made them worthy of the largest freedom any people ever enjoyed,—this faith was brought into discussion; at first, it was secretly suspected, then indirectly attacked, and at last, publicly renounced. Of course, I shall not

¹ Note 51.

enter into the merits of this controversy ; but the part taken by this church makes it not only proper, but necessary that I should mention the principal facts which occasioned and explained the division of the Congregational churches in Boston and Eastern New England into two distinct communions.

LECTURE IX.

ECCLESIASTES vii. 10.

SAY NOT THOU, WHAT IS THE CAUSE THAT THE FORMER DAYS WERE BETTER THAN THESE? FOR THOU DOST NOT INQUIRE WISELY CONCERNING THIS.

AFTER the death of Mr. Paine, the church was without a pastor for about fourteen months. In the month of November, however, a unanimous call was extended to the Rev. Jedidiah Morse; and his installation¹ as pastor of the church took place April 30, 1789. The sermon, appropriate to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D., of the Federal-street church, Boston; the charge was given by the Rev. Mr. Jackson, of Brookline, and the right hand of fellowship by the Rev. Mr. Osgood, of Medford.

Of this gentleman's personal history and character, it does not enter into my plan to say much. He occupied a large space both in the literary and theological world, and to present a full account of his varied labors and multiplied services, would far transgress my limits. As I intimated in the conclusion of the last Lecture, the administration of Dr. Morse was destined to be one of general agitation and severe trial. At the period of his settlement, and for some time after, although there was not entire unanimity of religious sentiment, there was no other house of public worship in the town than that in which he ministered. Our present religious divisions do not date back beyond the beginning of this century. The Baptists erected their house of worship in 1800; and the Universalists in 1810. But it was not until 1817, that the Congregationalists were divided; in this year, several members of this church were dismissed for the purpose of joining with others in the formation

¹ Note 52.

of a church in a Second Congregational society.¹ This society, though Congregational in order, was Unitarian in faith, and originated in a controversy which began in 1815, and resulted in separating our church into two distinct communions.

Dr. Morse was prominently, if not principally engaged in this controversy, and in effecting a separation, by the suspension of exchanges with those clergymen, who embraced the tenets of Unitarianism. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, to give some account of this great event; and I shall endeavor to do it in the spirit of a Christian, and not of a partizan, by presenting the facts in the case as I have been able to obtain them from authorities on each side of the question.

It will be unnecessary to recapitulate any of the facts already mentioned, for the purpose of showing what the original faith of the churches of New England was, or that they were united in that faith. As early as 1648, our fathers gave in their unanimous adherence to the Westminster Confession; this they did, as they say, that they might express their belief and profession of "the same doctrines which had been generally received in all the reformed churches in Europe." And in 1680, the churches of the Commonwealth drew up a confession of faith, affirming the same doctrines and using nearly the same words as the Westminster. This is the authorized faith of the Congregational churches—the only faith which has ever been professed by the churches assembled by their pastors and representatives in synod or council. And this has been not only the publicly professed faith of our churches, but it has been the real or implied faith of every church calling itself Congregational. No doctrine has been taught in our pulpits contrary to our received standards, until within thirty years past; previously to this, our churches were in outward fellowship; and disbelief, if entertained, was privately expressed. But as at the time of the division, a large number of our churches, together with the university, were found prepared to reject the cardinal doctrines of the orthodox faith, it is apparent that these doctrines had been a long time discussed and secretly rejected by many in the bosom of our churches. The history of this change, inasmuch as it was covered, and had but few outward events to mark it, cannot be traced and

¹ Note 53.

developed to the satisfaction of every inquirer. If the causes of this defection are sought for, some of them may be discovered far back in our earliest history ; the first may be found in the union of church and state—a union of all the most unnatural, but in the time of our fathers, every where established, and supposed by all to be fit and necessary. From this union the church has always suffered more than the state. It has been *injurious* to the state, but *destructive* to the church. It increased the power of the civil rulers, but deprived a portion of the people of their just rights, and by converting the church into an engine of the state, it deprived her of her great ornament—the spirituality of her ministry and people. The principal tie which connected the church with the state in the days of our fathers, was the law which confined the right of suffrage to members of the church. This, as I have already mentioned, led the way to the adoption of the half-way covenant ; and so eventually neither membership in the church, nor even admission to the ministry, became evidence of an experimental persuasion of the doctrines professed and taught among us.

The great religious excitement which preceded and followed the visits of Whitefield, created a difference of feeling rather than of doctrine among the clergy ; it showed chiefly the different tendencies then in the church ; and it was not before the second or third generation, that this difference of sympathy resulted in a different system of faith. We have evidence that in the latter part of the last century, a few both among the clergy and laity, rejected the doctrine of the divinity of the Saviour, so that about the beginning of the present century, Arianism prevailed quite extensively in Boston and its vicinity. The denial of the supreme divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, was the first, and for a long time the only point of departure from orthodoxy. Those who had taken this step, held that Christ was not equal to the Father, but that he was a created being, and yet inconceivably greater than any other created being, so that he might be made even the object of worship. They who held this doctrine respecting the person of Christ, generally held to all the other doctrines of orthodoxy. But this stage of religious declension was not of long continuance ; it prepared the way for a more general skepticism, and more vital departures. The tendency of this mode of specu-

lation was towards the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ, and the utter abolition of the peculiar and mysterious doctrines of redemption. At length it came to be generally understood, that not a few of our most honored pastors and churches were departing rapidly and widely from the faith of the Fathers. But notwithstanding the currency and positiveness of these rumors, the certainty of the facts could not be ascertained. No tangible and outward evidence of them was afforded; nor could those who had departed the farthest from the doctrines of our confession and catechism, be distinguished, except by their studied silence; they did not preach these doctrines, nor yet did they preach against them. The prevailing sentiment among those who had adopted the new opinions, was, that opinions were comparatively unimportant, and that Christian liberality required us not to insist upon unity of faith, or the belief of doctrines as essential to Christianity. Accordingly, these brethren were accustomed to admit members to their churches without asking their assent to any creed or confession; and they resolutely opposed the examination of candidates for the ministry, or for ordination, or for the chair of the professorship of divinity at Cambridge, on those points, which are now, as they ever have been, considered essential to the Christian faith. Hence, the principal subjects of discussion in those days, were not the doctrines of the gospel, but the propriety of creeds and subscriptions, and the importance of doctrinal belief. Hence, too, it became impossible to know what the degree and nature of the unbelief existing in our churches was; it was known only that among those who were opposed to creeds and confessions, great diversity of religious belief obtained. Hence, too, will be perceived the difficulty of writing the history of this change; it transpired under cover of opposition to creeds, and by maintenance of the sentiment that doctrinal belief is not an essential part or condition of Christian character. This account of the state of our churches is one, I believe, in which both parties are agreed; it corresponds with the representations of each.

Affairs were in this posture when memoirs of Rev. Theophilus Lindsey were published in London, from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Belsham, minister of a Unitarian church in that city, who devoted a chapter of his work to the subject of

Unitarianism in this country, disclosing facts which had been made known to him in a private correspondence. Dr. Morse caused this chapter to be published in a pamphlet form, under the title of "American Unitarianism ; or, a brief History of the progress and present state of the Unitarian Churches in America, compiled from documents and information communicated by the Rev. James Freeman, D. D., and William Wells, Jr., Esq., of Boston, and from other Unitarian gentlemen in this country." This pamphlet passed through several editions, and awakened general inquiry. It narrated the circumstances in which the first Episcopal church in Boston, then called King's chapel, became Unitarian, by expunging from their liturgy, under the influence of their pastor, Dr. Freeman, all recognitions of the Trinity and atonement ; this event took place in 1785, and made this the first Unitarian church in the country. The works of Dr. Priestley were also introduced among us, by Dr. Freeman, and placed in the library of Harvard College, and in other libraries, by which means, as well as by private circulation, they were read very extensively. In consequence of these, and similar efforts, at a time when there was but one church where Unitarianism was publicly professed and taught, its tenets had spread very extensively ; and in regard to Boston, in particular, most of the clergy and respectable laymen were Unitarian. In view of these facts communicated in the private letters mentioned above, Mr. Belsham says near the end of his chapter : "Being myself a friend to ingenuousness and candor, I could wish to see all who are truly Unitarians, openly such, and to teach the doctrine of the simple indivisible unity of God, as well as to practice the rites of Unitarian worship."

The publication of this pamphlet, was followed by a review of it in the *Panoplist*, attributed to the pen of Dr. Morse. The question was pressed with great earnestness, whether these statements were correct ; and charges of duplicity and dishonorable concealment began to be made with great bitterness. This drew forth the controversy between Dr. Channing and Dr. Worcester ; and when this, together with the others occasioned by it, subsided, the churches and ministers were prepared to take their stand either as Unitarian or Orthodox. All the ancient churches of Boston were ranged among the advocates of the new opinions, with the exception of the Old South. All

the superiors in age, and all the cotemporaries of our own church, left her to stand alone upon the foundation of the Fathers; and the church of Robinson in Plymouth, of Higginson in Salem, of Cotton in Boston—all have renounced the system of faith in which they were baptized, and for which they were nurtured by their pious founders.

In this manner were the sacred ties of Christian fellowship between sister churches severed; and I envy not that man's heart who can contemplate the separation without feelings of peculiar sadness. We do not indeed deplore the separation, as distinct from the circumstances which led to, and made it necessary. On the contrary, since such fundamental differences actually existed, it was better that a separation should take place. It was better for those who no longer held to the doctrines of the Congregational standards, to declare openly their dissent, and advocate boldly their real sentiments; and it was better for those who still maintained the original faith of New England, to know with whom they were associated. Each, in a separate organization, was able to act more consistently and effectively than when bound together. And the ease with which this separation was effected, we quote as a happy exhibition of the excellence of Congregationalism as a system of church polity. Never was a branch of the church of Christ more severely tried, than was ours in this controversy and defection; and never did any church pass through such trials so happily. True, if we had had a hierarchy like that of the English or Roman church over us—if we had had a liturgy chained to the pulpit, it might have been more difficult, if not impossible to change our creed or profession. But these things never could have preserved the minds of the people or clergy from the incursions of unbelief and heresy; and we say, what every person will be forced to admit upon reflection, that it is better, where religious differences exist, that they should be avowed—it is better that men should express their real convictions, rather than conceal them and dishonor them by the heartless profession of different sentiments. Hence, we regard it as no defect, but a peculiar excellence of Congregationalism, that it affords facilities for each church to manifest its inward life, and make its creed and its practice at once conform to its actual belief. We say, therefore, with truth and soberness, that we

love Congregationalism the more for the trial she has passed through. They who have gone out from us, have gone out with a consistency of character which they could neither have possessed nor maintained so long as they remained under a banner they did not honor and love; and we who remain, can remain only while our principles are living verities in our hearts.

It has been in time past customary with some to denounce those ministers who refused to exchange pulpits with their seceding brethren, and charge them with illiberality and all uncharitableness. Subsequent events, we are most happy to believe, have put an end to this unjust imputation. He who dispassionately considers the differences subsisting between Orthodoxy and Unitarianism, cannot fail to perceive and allow that it is due to consistency and to the holy cause of truth, for the advocate of the first system to protest against and refuse communion with the last. To expect any thing less than this, is the height of illiberality; it is to ask one to lay himself on the ground, and as the street for his opponent to pass over—to renounce self respect, to prove a traitor to the cause of his God, and the highest interests of his race, as they commend themselves to his understanding and heart. There are some principles which all must admit are essential to Christianity. Our Fathers, in accordance with the prevailing sentiment of the church in all ages, placed the doctrine of the divinity of Christ foremost among the essentials of revelation. It was, therefore, but a necessary part of their belief to refuse fellowship with those who rejected this truth. And in this they acted not only upon a proper, but upon a necessary principle. No man can have a serious faith in Christianity, without embracing certain essential ideas involved in it; and no man can do this without refusing his fellowship to systems which exclude and oppose these ideas. We honor, therefore, those men who bore a full and unwavering protest against what they regarded as an essential departure from Christian truth. We honor them for consistency, for their fidelity to the cause of truth, to themselves and to us.

In presenting the history of this church, we are happily relieved from the necessity of mentioning the worst part of the controversy, which resulted in a division of our denomination;

we refer to the question of the right of property, and those decisions of the courts, which in so many instances have deprived our churches of funds bequeathed to them for the support of the gospel, and driven them forth from their houses of worship, and from communion tables, spread with sacramental furniture, the gifts of their venerated fathers and mothers, and dear to them as memorials of ancestral piety. Happily for the peace and honor of this community, this question was never agitated among us. Those who dissented from the faith of the fathers, and embraced the new opinions, quietly retired from our communion, and built on new foundations. In adopting the course so obviously marked out by honor and integrity, they commended the cause they had espoused, by a becoming confidence in its independent power, and had the proud consciousness of knowing that the success which attended them under able ministrations, was all appropriately their own, and could not awaken the reproaches, however much it might the sorrow of the brethren whose communion they had left. It deserves to be considered, whether facts do not prove, that endowments perverted to purposes different from those for which they were originally given, are of no advantage to such a cause, but rather a mill-stone to weigh down and sink it.

The relation of Dr. Morse to this church, did not continue long after the close of this controversy. The multiplicity of his literary engagements, and particularly the attention bestowed upon his geographical works, rendered him unable to perform the amount of labor which his place and the people required. Besides this, no man could pass through such a controversy as that, in which Dr. Morse was so prominently concerned, without making his happiness and usefulness in no small measure a sacrifice. In reference to these subjects, Dr. Morse remarked on the last Sabbath of his ministry—"Amidst the pressing calls for services without, which the peculiar state of the church and the world at large has seemed to me to require—the necessity I have been under to labor for a part of my own support, and the duties I owed to my flock; in such a state of things, I have endeavored with all the wisdom I could command, to select the things (for all that was to be done I could not do) which seemed to me to demand my first attention, and to do them. If I have erred in making this selection, (which I have often found

extremely perplexing) the error is of the head, and not of the heart. I have done what I could in the station in which the Head of the church has placed me. With him is my judgment."¹

Dr. Morse² resigned the pastorship in the month of August, 1819—his resignation being referred to the council which should be convened to ordain his successor. He was succeeded by the Rev. Warren Fay, whose installation took place February 23, 1820, and his ministry continued until August 16, 1839. The present pastor was ordained April 22, 1840; and here he might cease his labors in reference to the past history of the church. It should be mentioned, however, that the house of worship in which we are now assembled—the fifth erected for the accommodation of this church, was built in the year 1834, and dedicated July 3, of that year.³

Before bringing this course of Lectures to a close, it was my intention to have devoted some space and time to the memory of our numerous and exemplary benefactors. It has been to me a pleasing and edifying task to examine the wills of the early members and devoted friends of our church, preserved in the public offices. They almost uniformly begin them with a recapitulation of the great doctrines of the gospel, and the grounds of their hope for eternity, and then resigning their souls to God through Jesus Christ, according to the terms of the covenant, and their bodies to the grave in the hope of a glorious resurrection, they proceed to distribute their worldly possessions among their relatives and friends. And in this distribution, they were accustomed with great uniformity, to remember their Christian teachers and brethren, the church, and the poor of the town; thus evincing in the simplicity of their primitive piety, that theirs was His spirit, who "stretched forth his hand toward his disciples and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother!" It will be impossible for me to present a complete list of all these benefactors. If you will read the inscriptions

¹ Church Book II. 171.

² Note 54.

³ Note 55.

upon our communion plate,¹ you will see, first of all, the name of our generous friend, Richard Sprague, Esq., who, besides other munificent gifts, bequeathed to the church several large silver tankards and flagons for sacramental use. You will also see the name of Mary Lemmon, as the donor of a silver flagon; she was admitted to the church in 1701. One tankard was the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, in 1717; another of Mrs. Abigail Stevens, in 1763; another of Capt. John Miller, in 1793. And still another bears the initials of "R. R. to C. C."—probably Richard Russell, Esq., to the church in Charlestown. He died in 1676, and was the ancestor of a long and honored line, who have in every generation been benefactors to this church. The name of one of his descendants, that of Hon. Thomas Russell, the most distinguished merchant of his day, in Boston, is inscribed as that of donor on the face of yonder clock. He was the son of the Hon. James Russell, another distinguished friend of this church and town, of whom President Dwight says, "Few men of any age or country have presented a better character, a fairer image of excellence to the eyes of mankind. As a son, a husband, a father, a neighbor, a friend, and a citizen, he adorned life with a peculiar native amiableness of character, and the superior worth of a Christian. I was intimately acquainted with this venerable man, and can, therefore, speak of him extensively from personal knowledge. I know not that I have ever seen a man less solicitous to shine, or more anxious to do good, or to whom I should more readily apply without reserve, the honorable character given to Nathanael by the Saviour: 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.'"²

The silver basin, which has been used for more than a century, as the baptismal laver, bears this inscription in Latin: "Henry Phillips dedicates this laver to the church of Charlestown, in New England, for the use of baptism, the 1st of May, 1726."

Besides these, there are many other names and characters which deserve a grateful and honored remembrance. But I will detain you to mention two only, who died within a few months of each other, in the year 1807, Richard Devens, Esq., and Dea. John Larkin. As a Christian, Mr. Devens was, during

¹ Note 56.

² Dwight's Travels, I. 476. Note 57.

a long life, a pillar of this church—eminent for his attachment to the ancient faith of New England, and for the depth of his spiritual experience. Not to mention the stations of public honor and trust which he occupied, he was distinguished still more in private, by his secret benefactions to the poor, and his zealous endeavors to spread the Scriptures, and the knowledge of salvation.¹ We may not dwell upon the benefactions of the generous and devotedly pious Dea. Larkin; his character as a Christian, and a venerable officer and pillar of this church, should long be kept in remembrance, as his name cannot fail to be, through the yearly distribution of the charities this church dispenses in his behalf. The pastor of the church was present and witnessed his death, and has left his testimony that “never did he behold such a scene of mingled sorrow and joy. There was nothing in it ghastly or awful. Not a limb was convulsed, nor a feature of the face distorted. A smile of joy even beamed on his dying countenance. Closing his own eyes, he sweetly fell asleep, not to awake again till the resurrection.”²

But I must check myself in these recitals, and hasten to a conclusion, by giving the final impression left upon my mind, by the preparation of these discourses, respecting the religious character of our ancestors.

I should not indeed attempt to give a full analysis, or final estimate of the Puritan character; it is a theme beyond the compass of my reading and power; and it may be doubted—while their institutions are still in a course of experiment, whether the wisdom and value of their principles can be judged of with perfect accuracy. Much has been written of them eloquently, affectionately, truly. He who would deny them merit, and exalted merit, must either be ignorant of their true character, or insensible to the highest elements of greatness and goodness. They were not only lovers of truth, but of the noblest and best kind of truth. They not only loved and cultivated virtue, but they loved and practiced those virtues most, which are encompassed with the severest self-denial—which are most essential to the prosperity of a community, and most intimately connected with the glory of God. Their principles must ever be the foundation of every truly great and noble

¹ Panoplist III. 239.

² Panoplist III. 429. See Note 58.

character. Theirs was the frame-work which God and the Bible sanction; nothing save the proportion and the relations of the parts can be safely altered.

We love, then, and honor the Puritans; but we do not idolize them. The very greatness of their virtues indicates their faults. There is a happy medium where opposite virtues balance each other, and contending forces are at rest; this perfection the Puritans did not reach. They seized hold of the great central principles of the word of God, without which there is no Christianity; but held them perhaps too much apart from those graces which, if not essential to the life, are so to the beauty and symmetry of religion. They were rigid and severe, not because they would banish refinement, or extirpate the finer sensibilities; but because they felt that the times were so critical as to place the essentials of religion in jeopardy. Hence, there was something artificial about their characters—something stern in their deportment. The principles of their Christian character stood out somewhat like the frame-work of their meeting-houses, the posts and beams and braces of which were all in open sight, strong and enduring, but not like our modern temples, beautiful to the eye.

Now this peculiarity of the Puritan character, it seems to me, has done more than any other single influence to make the New England character what it is. Like our fathers, we are distinguished for the attention we bestow upon the principal virtues. For substantial qualities, for industry, intelligence, good order, and stable principles, no people on earth can compare with the population of New England, except perhaps the Scotch; and among them a similar religious character has been followed by similar effects. But in the softer graces of character—in the cheaper virtues, if I may so call them, which diffuse through society a brighter and more cheerful aspect—in these things it strikes many who know and honor the great elements of our character, we are deficient. Those who are acquainted with life in our country villages and neighborhoods, have remarked, that it is characterized by a too restricted and reserved social intercourse—by a coldness of manner, and a want of warm and unsuspecting interest in one another. There are of course exceptions to this; but still, the well-informed and candid among us, will not deny that life is

susceptible of a much higher enjoyment, in consistency with our thrift as an industrious, and our seriousness as a religious people.

I will conclude this discourse, and with it the series to which I have so long solicited, and you have so patiently accorded, your attention, by addressing a few remarks to my respected hearers.

Brethren and friends of this ancient church and congregation ! Allow me to express the hope that these recitals may be permanently useful to you, and through you to those who shall stand after you within this sacred enclosure, and upon these ancient foundations. You have succeeded to the labors and prayers of men venerable for their varied excellencies. Let the history of your fathers and predecessors stimulate you to follow them as they followed Christ. . You are encompassed by a great cloud of witnesses ; and if the spirits of the blest are permitted to revisit spots once familiar and dear to them, we doubt not there have been, and will be in our midst, many shining and rejoicing ones, who once wept, and toiled, and prayed as we do now. Oh ! shall we not love these ancient seats ? Among other and more powerful considerations, are we not moved by a tender regard for the pious dead whose names are recorded alike in our books, and in the book of life, to give our heartiest services, and our warmest prayers to this portion of our Redeemer's church ? He has watched over this 'vine of his own right hand's planting'—he has carried it through fire and through water—and he still remembereth his covenant, and will yet spread above us the clouds of his mercy, and pour them down in honor of the prayers which have gone up from this hill !

Finally, permit me to say to the inhabitants of the town, who have honored me with their attention, In your ancestral recollections you have a rich inheritance. No people on earth can claim a worthier original than New England, and among her communities few are more distinguished in this respect than yours. Said a gentleman to me the other day, who had come to revisit the place of his birth, and who had visited the spot where is deposited the dust of the noble and mighty dead of England, "In no place on earth are nobler men sleeping, than in your burial-ground !" I care not whether, in a worldly

sense, this be true or not. But I am persuaded that no spot contains the ashes of men, whose principles were more elevated, whose beneficence was more genuine and extensive, or whose piety was more sincere and active. If you are not sprung from the loins of kings, and a titled aristocracy, it is a higher glory that you are the sons of "sires that have passed into the skies." The nobility of your ancestors was not "the accident of an accident," but something wrought out by themselves, the native product of their own hearts and minds. They were ennobled by the gifts of God's grace. You are justly proud of the memories of yonder hill; but there are also ante-Revolutionary memories. You have reason to be proud of another hill, where the ashes of your fathers repose—slain indeed, but slain by a conquered enemy. They sleep in Jesus. With them may it be your lot to sleep; and with them your blessedness to rise!

NOTES.

NOTE 1, page 10.

ARRIVAL OF WINTHROP.

WINTHROP sailed from Yarmouth at the Isle of Wight, April 8, 1630, on board the Arbella, in company with three other ships, the Talbot, the Ambrose, and the Jewel. The Arbella was a ship of 350 tons, manned with 52 seamen and 28 pieces of ordnance, and was commanded by Capt. Peter Milborne. These four arrived at Salem—the Arbella, June 12; the Jewel, June 13; the Ambrose, June 18, and the Talbot, July 2. The rest of the fleet, seven other ships, viz.: the May Flower, Whale, Hopewell, William and Francis, Trial, Charles, and Success, not being ready to accompany the four above-mentioned, set sail from South Hampton in May, and arrived at Charlestown or Salem, between the 1st and 6th of July. These are the ships mentioned in the following letter, written by Winthrop to his wife, “from aboard the Arbella, riding at the Cowes, March 28, 1630,” which I have transcribed from Savage’s edition of Winthrop’s Journal, for the information it imparts; but still more, for the beautiful illustration it affords of the writer’s domestic character.

“My faithful and dear Wife:

“It pleaseth God, that thou shouldest once again hear from me before our departure, and I hope this shall come safe to thy hands. I know it will be a great refreshing to thee. And blessed be his mercy, that I can write thee so good news, that we are all in very good health, and, having tried our ship’s entertainment now more than a week, we find it agree very well with us. Our boys are well and cheerful, and have no mind of home. They lie both with me, and sleep as soundly in a rug (for we use no sheets here) as ever they did at Groton; and so I do myself, (I praise God.) The wind hath been against us this week and more; but this day it is come fair to the north, so as we are preparing (by God’s assistance) to set sail in the morning. We have only four ships ready, and some two or three Hollanders go along with us. The rest of our fleet (being seven ships) will not be ready this sen-
night. We have spent now two Sabbaths on ship-board very comfortably, (God be praised,) and are daily more and more encouraged to look for the Lord’s presence to go along with us. Henry Kingsbury hath a child or two in the Talbot sick of the measles, but like to do

well. One of my men had them at Hampton, but he was soon well again. We are, in all our eleven ships, about 700 persons, passengers, and 240 cows and about 60 horses. The ship which went from Plymouth carried about 140 persons, and the ship which goes from Bristowe carrieth about 80 persons. And now (my sweet soul) I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth very near to my heart to leave thee ; but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to him who loves thee much better than any husband can, who hath taken account of the hairs of thy head, and puts all thy tears in his bottle, who can, and (if it be for his glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort. Oh, how it refresheth my heart, to think, that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living !—that lovely countenance, that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content ! I have hitherto been so taken up with business, as I could seldom look back to my former happiness ; but now, when I shall be at some leisure, I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me, but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays, at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet, if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God, that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in mine arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell, farewell. I bless you all in the name of the Lord Jesus. I salute my daughter Winth. Matt. Nan. and the rest, and all my good neighbors and friends. Pray all for us. Farewell. Commend my blessing to my son John. I cannot now write to him ; but tell him I have committed thee and thine to him. Labor to draw him yet nearer to God, and he will be the surer staff of comfort to thee. I cannot name the rest of my good friends, but thou canst supply it. I wrote, a week since, to thee and Mr. Leigh and divers others.

“Thine wheresoever,

“JO. WINTHROP.”

Our Charlestown records say that Winthrop and his company, amounting to about 1,500 persons in all, were brought over in twelve ships. Prince supposes that the Mary and John, which sailed from Plymouth, March 20, and arrived May 30, at Nantasket, was one of the twelve. Gov. Dudley, in his letter to the countess of Lincoln, says that seventeen ships arrived in New England during the year 1630, “for the increase of the plantation here ; but made a long, a troublesome, and a costly voyage, being all windbound long in England, and hindered with contrary winds after they set sail, and so scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together.”

“We began to consult of the place of our sitting down,” says Dudley, “for Salem, where we landed, pleased us not.”

“And to that purpose, some were sent to the bay, to search up the rivers for a convenient place ; who, upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon Mistick ; but some other of us, seconding

these, to approve or dislike of their judgment, we found a place liked us better, three leagues up Charles River ; and thereupon unshipped our goods into other vessels, and with much cost and labor, brought them in July to Charlestown ; but there receiving advisements (by some of the late-arrived ships) from London and Amsterdam, of some French preparations against us, (many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers, and the scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far,) we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charlestown, which standeth on the north side of the mouth of Charles River ; some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on) ; some of us upon Mistick, which we named Meadford ; some of us westward on Charles River, four miles from Charlestown, which place we named Watertown ; others of us two miles from Boston, in a place we named Roxbury ; others upon the river of Sawgus, between Salem and Charlestown : and the Western men, four miles south from Boston in a place we named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon ; and the time too short to deliberate any longer, lest the winter should surprise us before we had builded our houses. The best counsel we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed us thereunto, after we should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wet and cold."

It will appear from an attentive reading of the above account, that Charlestown was not the site, which was selected either by the first or second exploring party. Governor Winthrop was probably of the first party. He says, under date of Thursday, June 17, "We went to Mattachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down. We went up Mistick River about six miles." The next party, who were sent, as Dudley says, "to approve or dislike the judgment" of the first, found a place they liked better, three leagues up Charles River. Mr. Savage says that this place was Charlestown, supposing that Dudley represents the mouth of Charles River at the outer light-house. But this supposition is inconsistent with Dudley's narrative, in which he gives as a reason for their settling at Charlestown and other places, their inability through sickness to go so far as the place they had selected, three leagues up Charles River. Besides, he describes Charlestown as "standing on the north side of the *mouth* of Charles River." Prince supposes that this place, described as "three leagues up Charles River," was "at the place whence the Dorchester people were ordered to remove," which was afterwards called Watertown.

It is certain, therefore, that Charlestown was not, as has been supposed, the place fixed upon by the colonists for their first settlement. And it is apparent, also, that the precise date of the landing and settlement of Winthrop and his companions in Charlestown, cannot be determined. Governor Everett, in his address delivered before the Charlestown Lyceum, calls the 28th June, 1830, N. S., the second centennial anniversary. This date is derived probably from that given by Winthrop, June 17 ; but the day corresponding to this, would be June 27, not 28 ; and besides, this date refers to the exploration of the Mistick, not to the settlement of the town by Winthrop and his com-

pany. The nearest approximation to the date of the latter event which can be reached, is that given by Prince, who says, "it seems as if the fleet arrived at Charlestown July 10, by Mr. Wilson's yearly allowance out of the public treasury beginning on that day."

NOTE 2, page 10.

THOMAS WALFORD.

As this individual was the first white inhabitant of Charlestown, it may be interesting to learn what may be known respecting him.

He appears not to have lived amicably with the new settlers, for in April, 1631, he was "fined £10, and enjoined, he and his wife, to depart out of the limits of this patent." In the following month, he was fined £2, and "he paid it by killing a wolf;" and in the following September, it was ordered that his goods be sequestered, "to satisfy the debts he owes in the Bay to several persons." After this, he became a valuable citizen of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he is mentioned as being one of the trustees, or wardens of the church property.¹

NOTE 3, page 10.

THOMAS GRAVES.

DR. MORSE says that this gentleman, whom he calls Thomas Greaves, but whose name is spelt Graves on our town records, was the son of John Greaves, and was born in Ratcliffe, England, June 6, 1605, and was the ancestor of the Greaves family of this place. Others have supposed that there was another Thomas Graves, and there are many things to favor this opinion. There was a Mr. Graves who was mate of the Talbot, when Higginson came over, and one of the mates of the Arbella, when Winthrop came, and who subsequently became master of a vessel, and of whom Winthrop says in his journal, under date of June 3, 1635, that "he had come every year for these seven years." Prince says that the Thomas Graves, who desired to be made a freeman in 1630, afterwards became a rear-admiral in England. Now the Mr. Graves who "had charge of the servants of the company of Patentees," before Winthrop's arrival, is spoken of as "a person skillful in mines of iron, lead, copper, mineral salt, and alum, fortifications of all sorts, surveying, &c." and speaks of himself as a traveller, who had been in Hungary; it would seem, therefore, the more natural conclusion, that the Mr. Graves of whom Winthrop speaks, was the one appointed rear-admiral by Cromwell, "for his bravery at sea, in capturing a Dutch privateer, under great disadvantages."

¹ Savage's Winthrop, I. p. 53. 2 Hist. Coll. V. p. 220.

Thomas Graves married Katharine Coytmore, the daughter of Thomas and Katharine Coytmore of this town; they were admitted to the church October 7, 1639. Their son Nathaniell was baptized November 5, 1639. Their son Thomas was born 1638, but his baptism is not recorded. He graduated at Harvard College, 1656, and settled in this town as a physician. He was a representative of the town in 1677 and 8, and judge of the county court. He died May 30, 1697. The Rev. Mr. Sewall of Burlington, has kindly furnished me with the following interesting extract from his ancestor's manuscript journal. "June 1, 1697. I go to the funeral of my tutor, Mr. Thomas Graves. Bearers were, Capt. Byfield, Mr. Leverett; Capt. Sprague, Capt. Hammond; Mr. James Oliver, Mr. Simon Bradstreet. Charlestown gentlemen had gloves; Mr. Danforth had none that I observed. Mr. Graves was a godly learned man, a good tutor, and solid preacher; his obstinate adherence to some superstitious conceits of the Common Prayer book, bred himself and others a great deal of trouble; yet I think he kept to the church at Charlestown as to his most constant attendance, especially on the Lord's day. Has left one son by Mr. Stedman's daughter. My tutors are gone, the Lord help me to do worthily while I stay here, and be in a readiness to follow after!" Mr. Thomas Graves was admitted to the church, September 17, 1665.

Dr. Graves' son Thomas, was born September 28, 1683, (his baptism is recorded on the 30th September, 1683, as the son of Mr. Thomas Greaves and Sarai his wife) graduated at Harvard College, 1703, succeeded his father in the practice of medicine in this town, and besides filling the offices his father sustained, became judge of the supreme court. He died June 19, 1747. His daughter Katharine became the wife of the Hon. James Russell, and mother of the Hon. Thomas Russell.¹

It may be interesting in this connection, to append an extract from a letter written by Mr. Graves, the engineer, 1629, giving a description of the country in its natural state, and published with Mr. Higginson's "New England's Plantation," in London, 1630.

Mr. Higginson, writing of the condition of the plantation at the time he wrote, 1629, says, "there are in all of us about three hundred, whereof two hundred are settled at Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Massachusetts Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Cherton, or Charlestown."

Mr. Graves, writing at this time, says, "Thus much I can affirm in general, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered. If it hath not at any time been manured and husbanded, yet it is very beautiful in open lands, mixed with goodly woods, and again open plains, in some places 500 acres, some places more, some less, not much troublesome for to clear for the plough to go in, no place barren but on the tops of the hills; the grass and weeds grow up to a man's face, in the low lands and by fresh rivers abundance of grass and large meadows without any tree or shrub to hinder the scythe. I never saw except in Hungaria, unto which I always parallel this country, in all our most respects, for every thing that is here either

¹ See Dr. Morse's sermon occasioned by the death of Hon. Thomas Russell, 1796. p. 22.

sown or planted prospereth far better than in Old England. The increase of corn is here far beyond expectation, as I have seen here by experience in barley, the which because it is so much above your conception I will not mention. And cattle do prosper very well, and those that are bred here far greater than those with you in England. Vines do grow here plentifully laden with the biggest grapes that ever I saw, some I have seen four inches about, so that I am bold to say of this country, as it is commonly said in Germany of Hungaria, that for cattle, corn and wine it excelleth. We have many more hopeful commodities here in this country, the which time will teach to make good use of. In the mean-time we abound with such things which next under God do make us subsist; as fish, fowl, deer, and sundry sorts of fruits, as musk-melons, water-melons, Indian pompions, Indian pease, beans, and many other odd fruits that I cannot name; all which are made good and pleasant through this main blessing of God, the healthfulness of the country, which far exceedeth all parts that ever I have been in; it is observed that few or none do here fall sick, unless of the scurvy, that they bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof I have cured some of my company only by labor."¹

The enthusiasm of the immigrant under the excitement of novelty, and before the trials of a new country have been experienced, is sufficiently apparent in the above. It reminds us of the highly colored representations of life in the West, sent back to us by some of the early emigrants.

It is very possible that Governor Dudley alluded to this letter of Mr. Graves, when he spoke of "honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, writing somewhat hyperbolically of many things here."²

NOTE 4, page 11.

REV. FRANCIS BRIGHT.

THIS clergyman was trained up under the Rev. Mr. Davenport, and was a Puritan, but probably more disposed to conform to the church of England than many with whom he found himself associated here. He arrived in Salem in the Lion's Whelp, June, 1629, and in consequence of a disagreement in judgment with Messrs. Higginson and Skelton, his associates, came to Charlestown. He remained here, however, but

¹ 1 Hist. Coll. I. p. 124. The Historical Collections give only an extract from this letter, and this is all I have ever met with.

In the "Bibliothecæ Americæ Primordia," published 1713, by White Kennett, there is a notice of this letter as belonging to that library. "'A coppie of a Letter from an Ingineer sent out to New England written to a friend in England, A. D. 1629, giving an Account of his landing with a small company at Salem, and thence going and making a settlement at Massachusetts Bay, and laying the Foundation of a Town, to which the Governour gave the name of Charlestown, with a pleasing description of the exceeding Pleasantness and Fruitfulness of the Country, and of the civility of the natives.' In one sheet MS. [Ex dono Rev. Alexandri Young, S. T. B.]"

² See the extract from his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, quoted Lecture I. p. 19.

little more than a year, when he returned to England. Johnson speaks of Mr. Bright and Mr. Blackstone, as two that began to hew stones in the mountains, for the building of the Temple; but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, as they supposed, the one betook him to the seas again, and the other to till the land, retaining no symbol of his former profession, but a canonical coat.¹

NOTE 5, page 11.

TOWN RECORDS.

THE facts mentioned in the Lecture, respecting the settlement of the town, have been derived from our Town Records. These records, says Prince, page 250, were written by Increase Nowell. But if they were originally written by him, they were subsequently copied; for the handwriting in which they now appear, continues down to November 25, 1661. This fact may account for the obvious mistake which appears in them, by which the landing of Winthrop is said to have taken place in 1629, and all the events of that period are antedated a year. The time, however, which the records fix for the arrival of the Spragues, 1628, is confirmed by Prince, page 250.

But notwithstanding this error, which is that of the transcriber probably, these early records are exceedingly interesting and valuable; and I have, therefore, copied out a few pages, leaving blanks for the words that are effaced, and enclosing in brackets those which I was able to decypher only in part.

"Captain John Smith, having (in the reign of our sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith) made a discovery of some parts of America, lighted amongst other places upon the opening betwixt Cape Cod and Cape Ann, situate and lying in 315 degrees of Longitude, and 42 degrees 20 minutes of north Latitude, when, by sounding and making up, he fell in amongst the Islands, and advanced up into the Massachusetts Bay till he came up into the River between Mishawum (afterwards called Charlestown) and Shawmut, (afterwards called Boston) and having made discovery of the land, Rivers, Coves and Creeks, in the said Bay, and also taken some observations of the natures and dispositions and sundry customs of the numerous Indians, or Natives inhabiting the same, he returned to England, where (?) (it was reported that) upon his arrival, he presented a map of the Massachusetts Bay to the King; and that the Prince, (afterwards king Charles the first) upon enquiry and perusal of the foresaid River, and the situation thereof upon the map, appointed it to be called Charles River.

"Now, upon the fame that there went abroad of the place, both in England and Holland, several persons of quality sent over [several] at

¹ Wonder Working Prov. ch. 9. Hubb. ch. 19. Prince's Chron. 257-261.

their own cost, who planted this country in several [parts]; but for want of judgment, care, and orderly living, divers died; others meeting with many hazards, hardships, and wants, at length being reduced to great penury and extremity, were so tired out, that they took all opportunities of returning to England, upon which several places were altogether deserted; and [] only some few that upon a better principle, transported themselves from England and Holland, came and settled their Plantation a little within Cape Cod, and called the same Plymouth.

“Notwithstanding all their wants, hazards, and sufferings, [] several years in a manner alone, at which time this country was generally called by the name of New England.

“At length, divers gentlemen and merchants of London, obtained a patent and charter for the Massachusetts Bay, (from our Sovereign Lord, King Charles the first) gave invitation to [] as would, (transport themselves from Old England to New England,) to go and possess the same; and for their encouragement, the said Patentees, at their own cost, sent over a company [of] servants, under the government of Mr. John Endicott, who, arriv[ing] within this Bay, settled the first Plantation of this jurisdiction, called Salem; under whose wing there were a few also that settle and plant up and down, scattering in several places of [the] Bay, where, though they met with the dangers, difficulties, and [] attending new plantations, in a solitary wilderness, and so far remote from their Native Country, yet were they not [left] without company; for in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty-eight, came over from England, several people at their own charge, and arrived at Salem, after which, people came over yearly in great numbers. In [] years, many hundreds arrived, and settled not only in Massachusetts Bay, but did suddenly spread themselves into other colonies also.

“Amongst others that arrived at Salem, at their own cost, were Ralph Sprague with his brethren, Richard and William, who, with three or four more, by joint consent, and approbation of Mr. John Endicott, Governor, did, the same Summer of Anno 1628, undertake a journey from Salem, and travelled through woods about twelve miles to the westward, and lighted of a place situate and lying on the north side of Charles River, full of Indians, called Aberginians; their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called John Sagamore, was their chief, and a man naturally of a gentle and good disposition, by whose free consent they settled about the hill of the same place, by the said natives called Mishawum, where they found but one English palisadoed and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith, situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the east field, a little way up from Charles River's side; and upon surveying, they found it was a neck of land generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river, called Mistick River, from the farm Mr. Craddock's servants had planted, called Mistick, which this river led up unto, and indeed generally all the country round about was an uncouth wilderness, full of timber.

“The Inhabitants that first settled in this place, and brought it into the denomination of an English town, were in Anno 1628, as follows, viz:

" Ralph Sprague ; Richard Sprague ; William Sprague ; John Meech ; Simon Hoyte ; Abraham Palmer ; Walter Pamer ; Nicholas Stowers ; John Stickline ; Thomas Walford, smith, that lived here alone before ; Mr. Graves, who had charge of some of the Servants of the Company of Pattentees, with whom he built the Great House this year, for such of the said company as are shortly to come over, which afterwards became the meeting-house ; and Mr. Bright, Minister to the Company's Servants.

" By whom it was jointly agreed and concluded that this place on the north side of the Charles River, by the natives called Mishawum, shall henceforth, from the name of the River, be called Charlestown, which was also confirmed by Mr. John Endicott, Governor.

" It is jointly agreed and concluded by the inhabitants of this town, that Mr. Graves do moddle and lay out the form of the Town, with streets about the hill, which was accordingly done, and approved of by the Governor.

" It is jointly agreed and concluded, that each inhabitant have a two acre lot to plant upon, and all to fence in common, which was accordingly, by Mr. Graves, measured out to them.

" Upon which, Ralph Sprague and others, began to build their houses, and to prepare fencing for their lots, which was afterwards set up almost in a semi-circular form, on the south and southeast side of that field laid out to them, which lies situate on the northwest side of the town hill. Walter Pamer and one or two more, shortly after, began to build in a straight line upon their two acre lots on the east side of the town hill, and set up a slight fence in common, that ran up to Thomas Walford's fence ; and this was the beginning of the East Field.

" About the months of April and May, in the year of our Lord 1629, there was a great design of the Indians from the Narragansetts, and all round about us to the eastward in all parts to cut off the English, which John Sagamore (who always loved the English) revealed to the inhabitants of this town ; but their design was chiefly laid against Plymouth, (not regarding our paucity in the Bay), to be effected under pretence of having some sport and pastime at Plymouth, where, after some discourse with the Governor there, they told him if they might not come with leave, they would without ; upon which, the said Governor sent their flat-bottomed boat (which was all they had) to sale for some powder and shot ; at which time it was unanimously concluded by the inhabitants of this town, that a small fort should be made on the top of this town hill, with pallisadoes, and flankers made out, which was performed at the direction of Mr. Graves, by all hands of men, women and children, who wrought at digging and building, till the worke was done ; but that design of the Indians was suddenly broke up, by the report of the great guns at Salem only shot off to clear them, by which means they were so frightened, that all their companies scattered and ran away ; and though they came flattering afterwards, and called themselves our good friends, yet were we constrained by their conspiracies yearly, to be in arms.

" In the months of June and July, 1629, arrived at this town, John Winthrop, Esq., Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pinchon, Mr. Broad-

streete, who brought along with them the Charter [and] Pattennt for this Jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, with whom also arrived Mr. John Wilson and Mr. Phillips, ministers, and a multitude of people, amounting to about fifteen hundred brought over from England in twelve ships. The Governor and several of the Pattenntees, dwelt in the great house which was last year built in this town by Mr. Graves and the rest of their servants."

NOTE 6, page 13.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

THE circumstances which led to the formation of this church, and the method pursued, we learn from a letter written from Salem, July 26, by Samuel Fuller, a physician of Plymouth, and Edward Winslow, at that time on a visit to the new colony. They write as follows:

"To our loving Brethren and Christian Friends, Mr. Wm. Bradford, Mr. Ralph Smith, and Mr. Wm. Brewster, these be.

"Beloved, &c.:

"Being at Salem, the 25th of July, being the Sabbath, after the evening exercise, Mr. Johnson having received a letter from the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, manifesting the hand of God to be upon them, and against them at Charlestown, in visiting them with sickness, and taking divers from amongst them, not sparing the righteous, but partaking with the wicked in those bodily judgments; it was, therefore, by his desire, taken into the godly consideration of the best here, what was to be done to pacify the Lord's wrath; and they would do nothing without our advice. I mean those members of our church there known unto them, viz.: Mr. Fuller, Mr. Allerton, and myself, requiring our voices as their own, when it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in righteousness; and so to that end, the sixth day (being Friday) of this present week, is set apart, that they may humble themselves before God, and seek him in his ordinances; and that then also, such godly persons that are amongst them, and known each to other, publickly at the end of their exercise, make known their godly desire, and practice the same, viz.: solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways; and since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them, there to observe the day, and become three distinct bodies; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or the admitting of any other into their society, than a few, to wit: such as are well known unto them, promising after to receive in such, by confession, as shall appear to be fitly qualified for that estate; and as they desired to advise with us, so do they earnestly entreat that the church at Plymouth would set apart the same day, for the same ends, beseeching God, as to withdraw his hand of correction, so to establish and direct them in his ways; and though the time be very

short, yet since the causes are so urgent, we pray you be provoked to this godly work, wherein God will be honored, and they and we undoubtedly have sweet comfort in so doing. Be you all kindly saluted in the Lord, together with the rest of our brethren; the Lord be with you, and his Spirit direct you in this and all other actions that concern his glory, and the good of his.

"Your brethren in the faith of Christ,

"And fellowship of the Gospel,

"SAMUEL FULLER,

"EDWARD WINSLOW.

"*Salem, July 26, Anno 1630.*"¹

NOTE 7, page 14.

JOHN WINTHROP.

THE character of John Winthrop will bear close study. He was one of the few individuals who, like Washington, combined great and good qualities in a union as rare as it is happy. His character is worthy of the more attention, because the Puritans are so commonly represented as men of cold sentiments and rigid principles—cultivating the sterner virtues to the neglect and contempt of those which give symmetry and grace to the character, and constitute the principal charm of domestic and social life. We do not mean to imply that the Puritans were perfect men, or that they have not often exposed themselves to such charges as these. But it is not too much to say, that when tried by the spirit of the times—the only fair method of judging—few characters can be found on the records of history, which, for nobleness, dignity, and the beauty of a just proportion, are superior to that of Winthrop, and his associates of the same rank in the several plantations. It will be difficult to parallel the magnanimity of Winthrop, under the trials he sustained, of the loss of property, the endurance of severe privations, and the unjust, not to say malicious aspersions cast upon his fair name. And his domestic character was as lovely as his public was noble. As a husband and a father, he was characterized by the strongest affections. Of this, we have a singularly beautiful proof in his letters, published in Savage's edition of his journal. No lover of the domestic virtues, can read those letters without admiration and delight. His letters to his wife are remarkable for the intense affection, as well as self-controlling faith in God they express. His farewell to her—for her situation did not permit her accompanying him—is singularly beautiful. [See p. 165.]

The letters of Mrs. Winthrop, are of the same character; in one of them she writes: "I have many reasons to make me love thee, whereof I will name two: first, because thou lovest God; and secondly, because that thou lovest me. If these two were wanting, all the rest would be eclipsed."

¹ 1 Hist. Coll. III. p. 76.

This was Margaret, the third wife of Governor Winthrop. She was married to him, April 29, 1618, and died June 14, 1647, aged about fifty-six years;—"a woman," says the Governor, in recording her death, "of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety, and especially beloved and honored of all the country."

For his last wife, he married Martha Coytmore, a member of our church, and widow of Thomas Coytmore, who lost his life by shipwreck, on the coast of Spain, December 27, 1645.¹

NOTE 8, page 14.

THOMAS DUDLEY.

GOVERNOR DUDLEY lived first in Cambridge, but upon Mr. Hooker's removal to Hartford, he removed to Ipswich, and at length fixed his habitation in Roxbury, where he died July 31, 1653, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a man of great integrity and strength of character, distinguished for his love of justice, his zeal for good order, and his attachment to the faith and order of the churches. The following verses were found in his pocket after his death; they may further illustrate his character.

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach shew
My dissolution is in view;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die.
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done;
My span is measured, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead;
Farewell, dear wife! children, and friends—
Hate heresy, make blessed ends;
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, *I died no Libertine.*²

NOTE 9, page 15.

JOHN WILSON.

REVEREND JOHN WILSON was born at Windsor, 1588. He was the third son of Dr. William Wilson, a prebend of St. Paul's, of

¹ For a more particular account of Governor Winthrop, see Mather's *Magnalia*, and Savage's *Winthrop*.

² *Magnalia* I. 120. N. E. Memorial, p. 265.

Rochester, and of Windsor, and rector of Cliff. His mother was a niece of Dr. Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury. He received his education at Eton and Cambridge. At the university he embraced the sentiments of the Puritans, and falling under censure on this account, he was induced by his father to study law, which he did for three years. His disposition to enter the ministry of the gospel, continuing, however, he was permitted to return to the university in preparation for it. The difficulty he met with in obtaining ordination, is said to have led him to express his desires to God, in the following language: "That if the Lord would grant him a liberty of conscience, with purity of worship, he would be content, yea, thankful, though it were at the furthest end of the world." A most prophetic resolution! says Mather.

Soon after preaching his first sermon, he was called to the bedside of his dying father, where he kneeled, in his turn, with her to whom he was engaged in marriage; and the old gentleman blessed him in the following terms: "Ah, John, I have taken much care about thee, such time as thou wast in the university, because thou wouldest not conform; I would fain have brought thee to some higher preferment than thou hast yet attained unto. I see thy conscience is very scrupulous concerning some things that have been observed and imposed in the church; nevertheless, I have rejoiced to see the grace and fear of God in thy heart, and seeing thou hast kept a good conscience hitherto, and walked according to thy light, so do still, and go by the rules of God's holy word. The Lord bless thee, and her whom thou hast chosen to be the companion of thy life!"

Mr. Wilson was distinguished for the many and varied excellencies of his character. He was not only charitable and generous, but was liberal to a fault; "he acted," says Mather, "as if the primitive agreement of having all things in common, had been of all things most agreeable unto him." He was a staunch friend to the faith and order of our churches; and when one of another order was set up in Boston, his language to his family was, "I charge you, that you do not once go to hear them; for whatsoever they may pretend, they will rob you of ordinances, rob you of your souls, rob you of your God." But notwithstanding the strength of his attachment to his own religious principles, he was no less remarkable for his affectionate feelings. On one occasion, when he was present at a great muster of soldiers, a gentleman remarked to him, "Sir, I'll tell you a great thing; here's a mighty body of people, and there is not seven of them all, but what loves Mr. Wilson;" to which he immediately replied—"Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here's a mighty body of people, and there's not so much as one of them all, but Mr. Wilson loves him."

In his younger days, he was greatly admired for his methodical preaching; but after he became a pastor, and was associated with Cotton and Norton, so distinguished as teachers, he gave himself greater latitude in preaching, and his discourses, which were upon texts that had been doctrinally treated of by his colleague, immediately before, were without distinct propositions, and consisted chiefly of exhortations and admonitions and good counsels; but were, notwithstanding, very effective. He was accustomed, for the encouragement of the ministry and of religion, to go round and visit the congregations of the

neighboring towns, at their weekly lectures, until prevented by the weakness of age. "And it was a delightful thing," says Mather, "to see upon every recurring opportunity, a large company of Christians, and even magistrates and ministers among them, and Mr. Wilson at the head of them, visiting the lecturers in all the vicinage, with such heavenly discourses on the road, as caused the hearts of the disciples to burn within them; and it was remarked, that though the Christians then spent less time in the shop, or field, than they do now, yet they did in both prosper more."

Mr. Wilson was emphatically a man of prayer, and the answers he is said to have received, are among the most remarkable any where on record. The blessings, too, which he pronounced upon individuals, seemed prophetic; in so much, that many, and those of the most consideration in the colony, came from great distances, bringing their children with them, to receive his patriarchal benedictions. Rev. Thomas Shepard, of our church, who composed an elegy upon him, and seems to have been a pupil of his, alludes to this circumstance as follows:

"As aged John, the apostle, us'd to bless
The people, which they judged their happiness,
So we did count it worth our pilgrimage
Unto him, for his blessing in his age."

Mr. Wilson was famous for his skill in making anagrams, which consisted in a witty conceit of transposing the letters of a name so as to make a different word or sentence. He was accustomed to make anagrams upon all his friends, and upon the name of any remarkable person he met with. Such verses were commonly attached to the hearse at funerals; and it looked, says Mather, like a piece of injustice, that Wilson's funeral, among the many poems it produced, brought out so few anagrams. "Some," he says, "thought the Muses looked very much dissatisfied, when they saw these lines upon his hearse:

JOHN WILSON.

Anagram,

JOHN WILSON.

Oh! change it not; no sweeter name or thing,
Throughout the world, within our ears shall ring.

Mr. Ward, the witty author of "The Simple Cocker of Agawam," said with reference to Wilson's well-known hospitality, that the anagram of John Wilson was, "*I pray come in, you are heartily welcome.*" He died August 7, 1667, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.¹

¹ See Mather's Mag.; New England Memorial; Winthrop's Journal, &c.

NOTE 10, page 16.

WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

OF this gentleman, the first white inhabitant of Boston, living alone there, as Thomas Walford was on the Charlestown side, the following notices will be interesting.

He had been living there four or five years when Winthrop and his company arrived, and resided there about as long after. He was an Episcopal clergyman, who left England because he liked not the "Lord's bishops;" and Boston, afterwards, because he liked not the "Lord's brethren."

Mr. Blackstone lived in the western part of Boston, where, near a spring, he had built a cottage, cultivated a garden plot, and planted an orchard—the first in Massachusetts.

In the year 1634, he sold his property for £30, each householder paying him 6s. or more. With this he purchased cattle, and removed to the south about thirty-five miles, and settled near Providence. His house was situated near a stream called Abbot's Run, on a knoll which he called "Study Hill;" it was surrounded by a park, which is said to have been his daily favorite walk. He died May 26, 1675, and was buried on Study Hill, where "a flat stone marks his grave."¹

NOTE 11, page 18.

INHABITANTS REMAINING IN CHARLESTOWN.

IN the month of September, (28th,) a levy was imposed upon the several plantations, of which Charlestown was to pay £7, and Boston £11. So that it would seem the majority had removed across the river at this time.²

After the separation had taken place, in the autumn of 1630, we find the following entry made upon our Town Records.

"A list of the names of such as staid, and became inhabitants of this town, in this year 1629,³ following:

Increase Nowell, Esq.,	William Hudson,	Ezekiel Richeson,
Mr. William Aspinwall,	Mr. John Glover,	John Baker,
Mr. Richard Palsgrave,	William Brakenburry,	John Sales.
Edward Converse,	Rice Cole,	
William Penn,	Hugh Garrett,	
Capt. Norton,		
Mr. Edward Gibbons,	} These four went and built in the maine, on the north-east side of the northwest creek of this town."	
Mr. William Jennings,		
John Abignall,		

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. x. 170. Savage's Winthrop, I. p. 44.—² Prince, p. 318.—³ 1630, it should be. See Note 5.

NOTE 12, page 18.

MRS. WILSON.

THE object of Mr. Wilson's return to England, was to persuade his wife to accompany him, which he could not do when he first came. He seems to have failed, however, in this second endeavor, as we learn from the following extract of a letter written by Margaret Winthrop, to her son, in May or June, 1631. "Mr. Wilson is now in London, and promised me to come and see you. He cannot yet persuade his wife to go, for all he hath taken this pains to come and fetch her. I marvel what mettle she is made of. Sure, she will yield at last, or else we shall want him exceedingly in New England." Mr. Wilson made another visit to England in 1635, and his wife probably returned with him at that time. After Mrs. Wilson had been persuaded to accompany her husband into the American wilderness, Mather says he heard that she received for her consolation, a curious present from her kinsman, old Mr. Dod. "He sent her at the same time, a brass counter, a silver crown, and a gold jacobus; all of them severally wrapped up, with this instruction to the gentleman that carried it: that he should, first of all, deliver only the counter; and if she received it with any show of discontent, he should then take no further notice of her; but if she gratefully resented that small thing, for the sake of the hand it came from, he should then go on to deliver the silver, and so the gold; but withal, assure her, 'That such would be the dispensations of God unto her, and the other good people of New England: if they would be content and thankful with such little things, as God at first bestowed upon them, they should, in time, have silver and gold enough.' Mrs. Wilson, accordingly, by her cheerful entertainment of the least remembrance from good old Mr. Dod, gave the gentleman occasion to go through with his whole present, and the annexed advice, which hath in a good measure been accomplished."¹

NOTE 13, page 21.

NEW AND OLD STYLE.

According to the old style, the length of the year was computed to be 365 days and 6 hours; so that every fourth year—called bissextile or leap year—when the 6 hours amounted to 24, an additional day was reckoned, and the year made to consist of 366 days.

But this method of computing time was erroneous, because the length of the year was not 365 days and 6 hours, but 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 49.57; so that by the old style, the year was reckoned 11 minutes, and 10.7 seconds too long.

The old style commenced in the 45th year before Christ, and was introduced by Julius Cesar, from whom it has received the name of the

¹ See Mather I. 281. Winthrop I. 382.

Julian Calendar. In the third century of the Christian Era, there was no difference between the two methods of computing time, or would have been none, had the new style been used then. But at the close of that century, the difference of the styles was one day, and increased a day in about 125 years; so that in 1582, when Pope Gregory XIII. introduced the new style, the old style had fallen behind 10 days. Gregory, accordingly, ordered that 10 days be omitted from the reckoning, so that the day after October 4, of that year, be called October 15, and made provisions against the accumulation of errors for the future. The Gregorian rule by which this correction is effected, is as follows: "Every year whose number is not divisible by 4, without remainder, consists of 365 days—every year which is so divisible, but is not divisible by 100 of 366—every year divisible by 100, but not by 400, again of 365—and every year divisible by 400, of 366. For example, the year 1845, not being divisible by 4, consists of 365 days; 1848 of 366; 1800 and 1900 of 365 each; but 2000 of 366." By this simple rule, the calendar may be preserved from any perceptible variation for thousands of years.

But this was only a part of the change effected by the introduction of the new style. It changed the period for the year to commence.

According to the old style, the year began on the 25th March, which was Lady day, or Annunciation, in commemoration of the event recorded Luke i. 26-38. But by the new style, it was made to begin on the 1st day of January. This will explain at once the use of double dates, which were common, and indeed necessary during the period of transition from one style to the other. It was customary to give two dates for the days that occurred between the 1st of January and the 25th of March; e. g. February 9, 1717-18, i. e., 1717, old style, when the year ended in March; and 1718, new style, when it began in January. Thus, according to the old style, January was the 11th month, and February the 12th, while September, October, November, December were, as their names import, the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th. Double dates are given on our church records, during the months of January, February and March, from the commencement of the century, as 1700-1, down to 1752, as 1751-2, when the new style became legal and universal.

The change of style which took place in Catholic countries in the latter part of the sixteenth century, through the influence of the Pope, was not adopted in England and its colonies, until 1752, when, by act of Parliament, it was ordered that 11 days—the difference between the styles amounting to that after 1700—be omitted in the calendar, so that the day following the 2d of September of that year, should be called September 14, agreeably to the new style.

From the above remarks, it is obvious, that to reduce old style to new, it is necessary simply to add 10 days, if the date is of the 16th or 17th century; 11 days, if the date be of the 18th century, and 12, if the date be of the present century, as is the case with Russian dates. Care must also be taken to give double dates, or specify which style is used in recording the dates of events occurring between 1st January and 25th March, when the difference of style was, as explained above, one whole year. e. g. This church was organized 2d day of the 9th month, 1632, old style; or, November 12, 1632, new style. The first

baptism was that of the pastor's son, John James, 11th month, 9th day, 1632, old style; or, January 9, 1633, new style. In the course of this work I have not preserved the double dates, but have given the one which makes the year begin with January.

I should not have thought it necessary to be thus particular in explaining the difference of the styles, after so much has been written upon it, were it not evident that mistakes are still made in regard to it.

It has been customary to add 11 days in changing old style into new style, without regard to the century to which the date belongs. This was indeed the difference between the styles in the last century; but it was only 10 days in the two preceding centuries. e. g. Washington was born February 11, 1732, old style; and we rightly observe the anniversary of his birth on the 22d of February, for the difference of styles was 11 days during the whole of the last century. The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, Monday, December 11,¹ 1620, old style; and it is an error to commemorate the anniversary of this event on December 22, because the difference of the styles was then 10, and not 11 days.

It has surprised me much, to find the same error committed in the inscription placed upon the monument erected to the memory of Harvard, in our burying-ground, by the alumni of the college. Harvard died September 14, 1638, old style, as we learn from Danforth's Almanac for 1649, printed at Cambridge, a copy of which is in possession of Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington. Gov. Everett, in his "address delivered at the erection of a monument to John Harvard, September 26, 1828," says, "He died on the 14th September, of the year following his arrival, corresponding in the new style, to the 26th of September." This date, accordingly, is inscribed upon the granite shaft erected to his memory, as the date of his death.

But with deference to the eminent authority of the gentlemen concerned, may it not be said that this is evidently a mistake?

It will be admitted, that at the time when Harvard died, there was a difference of 10 days between the reckoning of the old style and of the new; in other words, that the day on which Harvard died, which was called in New England September 14th, was reckoned in Rome, and in all countries where the new style prevailed, September 24th, Harvard did not die, therefore, September 26, 1638, new style, unless that style, as then reckoned in Catholic countries, was incorrectly computed, which never has been maintained.

Perhaps it will be said, that although the difference of styles was only 10 days in the seventeenth century, it has now increased to 12 days. If this be true, the inscription upon the monument will still be incorrect, for it declares that Harvard died September 26, 1638, which was two days later than his death upon any supposition. But besides

¹ Bradford and Winslow's journal, as published by the Rev. Mr. Young, in his valuable "*Chronicles of the Pilgrims*," gives the date of Monday as December 12, or the Saturday preceding, as December 10. p. 161. If this were the true date, December 22 would be the anniversary of the ever memorable landing. But it is obviously a mistake, as will appear from a comparison of the preceding and succeeding dates given in the journal—Wednesday being mentioned as December 6, while Saturday is given as December 10. Prince, quoting Bradford, gives the right date for Monday, December 11. The 21st of December, therefore, is the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, the 22d having been fixed upon on the erroneous supposition that it corresponds to December 11, old style.

this, it is obviously a mistaken notion, that after a date of the 17th or 18th century has been changed to the new style in those centuries, by adding 10 or 11 days, any new correction is demanded for errors accumulated since. No such errors can be accumulated by the new style, but only by the old, which reckons one more leap year in four centuries than does the new style. February 22, 1832, is just one hundred years after February 22, 1732, new style, or February 11, 1732, old style. If it were not so, we ought now to observe the anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 23d, on the supposition that there are 12 days difference now between new and old style, which is plainly absurd. Just so, September 24, 1838, is the second centennial anniversary of Harvard's death, being exactly two hundred years after September 24, 1638, new style, or September 14, 1638, old style.

I find these views corroborated in a brief but lucid note appended to Professor Kingsley's discourse, on the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of New Haven. See also a full and accurate explanation of new and old style, and double dating, by Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, in the *American Quarterly Register*, vol. xiv. p. 254.

NOTE 14, page 21.

THE RECORDS AND COMPARATIVE AGE OF THE CHURCH.

THE following very accurate and minute description of the first volume of our church records, was drawn up with great labor by the Rev. Samuel Sewall, for the *American Quarterly Register*, volume xii., page 247.

The Records of this Church are, it is believed, the only records in existence of any church in the County of Middlesex formed as early as the seventeenth century, which have been kept in regular, and (in the main) unbroken series from the beginning, except the records of the Church of Lexington, gathered 1696. The Church of South Reading, (formerly First Church, Reading,) gathered 1645, has some very ancient records, but they are not entire; nor do they reach quite back to its foundation.

This precious relic of antiquity is a small quarto volume of 386 pages, of which 381 are numbered. Of these, the first 357 pages are occupied by the Title, Table of Contents, Covenants, Admissions to the Church, Owners of the Covenant, Baptisms, and Marriages solemnized by Mr. Morton. The remaining pages, commencing with the last page, (the book being inverted,) are appropriated to recording Church votes, censures, the choice and ordinations of Church officers, (as pastors and deacons,) &c., though several of the last named matters of record are inserted among the Admissions.

Subjoined are copies or accounts of some interesting matters of record, contained in this venerable volume.

I. THE TITLE.

"The book that belongs unto the Church of God in Charltowne: which Church was gathered, and did enter into Church Covenant the 2d. day of the 9th. month 1632."—*Elder Green, 1st page of blank leaf at the beginning.*

II. "THE CONTENTS."

"1631. The names of those who did Enter into y ^e Covenant first,	p. 1
"The Covenant to particular persons for their Consent, when they are to be admitted	2
"1632. Names of persons admitted	3
"1632. Names of the Baptized	201
"1665. Names of y ^e Baptized as have publicquely renewed Covenant with God & this Church, yet not taken into Communion in y ^e Lord's Supper	101
"1677. Names of such as have been admitted into this Church, but not unto full Communion	
"1658. Church Censures & Votes past in Weigty" (Weigthy) "Cases by this Church of Christ at Charles Town	179
"other end of y ^e book.	
"1687. Names of persons Married by y ^e minister	283"
<i>Mr. Morton, 1st page of blank leaf at beginning.</i>	

The above Table of Contents is in the hand writing of Mr. Morton, who was the first and the only minister that recorded marriages in this book. Before his day, ministers in this country were not authorized to solemnize marriages. It is remarkable, that he should have prefixed the date '1631' to the two first articles of record, when, according to the title of the book just above it, the Church was not gathered till 1632.

III. "THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO DID ENTER INTO THE COVENANT FIRST."

<p>"Increase, Parnel, Nowell. "Tho.; Christian, Beecher. "Abra.; Grace, Palmer. "Ralph, Jone, Sprague. "Edward, Sarah, Convers. "Nicholas, Amy, Stowers. "Ezek.; Susan, Richeson. "Henery, Elizabeth, Harwood. "Robert, Jone, Hale. "Geo.; Margerit, Hucheson. "Tho.; Elizab.; James. "William, Ann.; Frothingam. "Ralph, Alice, Mousall. "Rice, Arrold, Cole. "Richard, Mary, Sprague. "John, Bethiah, Haule. "William Dade. "Thomas Minor. "Thomas Squire.</p>	<p><i>The forme of the Covenant.</i></p> <p>"In the Name of o^r. Lord God, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinances.</p> <p>"Wee whose names are heer written Beeing by his most wise and good providence brought together, and desirous to unite o^r. selus into one Congregation or Church, under o^r. Lord Jesus Christ our Head: In such sort as becometh all those whom he hath Redeemed and Sanctified unto himselfe, Doe heer Sollemnly and Religiously as in his most holy presence, Promise and bynde o^r. selus to walke in all o^r. wayes according to the Rules of the Gospell, and in all sinceer conformity to his holy Ordinances; and in mutuall Love and Respect each to other: so near as God shall give us grace."</p>
<p>"These were dismissed from Boston Church the 14th of the eaight moneth 1632."</p>	

Page 1st.

IV. ADMISSIONS.

Among the Admissions to this church recorded in this book, are those of almost all its ministers before Mr. Paine, ordained in 1787, (when a new volume had been substituted), and also of many others, both clergymen and laymen, who were men of eminence in their day.

Subjoined is the sum of admissions to full communion in this church down to the year 1768, as recorded in this first volume of its records. The occasional omission of given names in the records, or the occurrence of such as

Faintnot, Suretrust, Gardy, Manes, Menry, Randoll, Shippy, has rendered it impossible, in a few instances, to determine with certainty the sex of the members referred to.

Aggregate of Admissions.

<i>Recorded by</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
The Ruling Elder	from 1632 to 1656,	136	189	9	334
Mr. Symmes,	" 1658 " 1660,	8	11	1	20
Mr. Shepard, sen.	" 1660 " 1677,	54	112	0	166
Mr. Shepard, jun.	" 1680 " 1685,	20	40	0	60
Mr. Morton,	" 1686 " 1697,	27	41	1	69
Mr. Bradstreet,	" 1698 " 1731,	141	351	0	492
Mr. Abbot,	" 1731 " 1768,	128	305	2	435
		514	1,049	13	1,576

The largest number of admissions in any one year, recorded in this ancient volume, was in 1741, the period of the revivals in the time of Whitefield. In that year, 66 persons were admitted. In 1639, there were 38 admissions; in 1652, 30 admissions; in 1714, 25 admissions; and in 1728, the year after "the Great Earthquake," October 29, 1727, there were 65 admissions. During the same year, (viz. 1728,) a corresponding increased attention to religion, and extraordinary additions to the churches, were observable very generally throughout New England. On the other hand, in 1649, 1651, 1653, 1654, 1663, and 1693, no addition to First Church Charlestown, are found upon record.

Before 1663, all admissions to this church were understood to be admissions to all the privileges of church members. But the adoption by the church that year, of the Result of the Synod of 1662, respecting Baptism, &c., led to a threefold distinction of its members in the subsequent arrangements of its records; viz.,

1. "Persons admitted into full Communion."
2. "The names of such Children of the Covenant as have publickly renew'd their Covenant wth God and this Church, yet not taken unto Communion in y^e L^ds. Supp."—p. 101.
3. "The names of such persons as have been admitted into this Church, but not unto full Communion."—p. 179.

By the second distinction, persons appear to have been intended, who having in infancy been offered in baptism by their parents, being church members, were considered as virtually members of the church themselves, and subject to its inspection and discipline; and who owning the covenant at mature age, were admitted to the privilege of baptism for their children, but not as yet to the Lord's Table.

By the third distinction, all other persons were apparently denoted, who owning the covenant, were taken under the watch and discipline of the church, and obtained in it the privilege of baptism for themselves and their children, but did not commune in the Lord's supper.

Apparently however, both these distinctions were sometimes confounded in recording, especially by Mr. Morton; and his successors, Rev. Messrs. Bradstreet and Abbot, recorded the names of persons of both descriptions, without discrimination, under the common title of "Renewers of the Covenant."

V. BAPTISMS.

The following is a copy of a memorandum respecting the number of baptisms in this church, entered at the close of the book, p. 381, apparently by Mr. Abbot.

"Memorandum, taken 21 Aug. 1771.

"The Rev. Mr. Gordon who came from London, came to visit me on the day abovesaid and borrowed the Ch. Books, that he might find by the Baptisms, the Proportion of Males to Females, that had been born among us. And upon search he found them *equal* from the Year 1632, when the Old Book was begun. And from that year to the present year 1771 according to his Calculation there were 2889 males, and 2889 females baptized. N. B. he found a Chasm in the Records, wherein no Entries were made of the Children Baptiz'd for 17 years. This Acct he gave me, when he return'd the Books unto me."

Subjoined is the result of an enumeration by the writer of this article, of the baptisms recorded in the "Old Book" alone: premising, that the occurrence in the records of unusual given names has sometimes left the sex of the persons baptized undetermined; and that the occasional omission both of names and of numbers has in a few other instances made it uncertain how many were baptized. In cases of the latter description, the smallest number possible, under the circumstances given, has been assumed as the true one.

Sum of Baptisms.

<i>Recorded by</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Males.</i>		<i>Females.</i>		<i>Unc. Sex.</i>		<i>Total.</i>		<i>Infants.</i>	<i>Adults.</i>
		<i>No.</i>	<i>Sex.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Sex.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Sex.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Sex.</i>		
The Ruling Elder from 1633 to 1642,		81		82		0	0	163		163	0
Mr. Symmes, " 1658 " 1663,		5		6		5	5	16		16	0
Mr. Shepard, sen. " 1659 " 1677,		301		274		0	0	575		569	6
Mr. Shepard, jun. " 1680 " 1685,		135		149		14	14	298		286	12
Mr. Morton, " 1686 " 1697,		285		338		0	0	623		562	61
Mr. Bradstreet, " 1698 " 1731,		952		944		0	0	1,896		1,792	104
Mr. Abbot, " 1731 " 1768,		1,093		1,075		0	5	2,173		2,132	41
Total recorded during 135 years,		2,852		2,868		19	24	5,744		5,520	224

In the above schedule of baptisms, all have been reckoned among adults, who are noticed expressly as being "young men," wives, widows, persons of 14 years old and upwards, or whose names are given alone, without the names of their parents, as well as those who are expressly called adults. All are accounted as "Infants," who are said to be the sons or daughters or children of such, or of such parents; both those whose age is stated to be less than 14, and those whose age is not mentioned, and who constitute more than nineteen-twentieths of the whole. The earliest adult baptism recorded in this ancient volume, that has been observed, was in 1673.

Perhaps I shall find no more appropriate place to make a few remarks respecting the seniority of our churches.

The first church of Plymouth was gathered in 1602, or in 1606,¹ when the original church became two. This church removed, after its organization, to Holland, and thence to Plymouth; and although the majority of the church, with their pastor, John Robinson, remained in Holland, yet it was determined that "those who go first, should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that stay; with this proviso, that as any go over or return, they shall be reputed as members, without further dismission or testimonial; and those who tarry to follow the rest as soon as they can."² This was obviously not an organization of a new church, but a temporary arrangement, created by the exigency of their situation, and designed to cease with it.

The first church of Salem was organized August 6, 1629.

¹ Prince, 100.

² Young's Chronicles, 77.

The first church of Dorchester was organized in January, 1630,¹ in the New Hospital at Plymouth, in England. They set sail March, and settled in Dorchester, in June, the same year. In 1635, however, this church removed to Connecticut, and settled the town of Windsor. The present first church of Dorchester was formed August 23, 1636.

On the 30th July, 1630, church covenants were formed and subscribed in Charlestown and Watertown.

The Charlestown church, with their pastor, Rev. John Wilson, soon held their meetings in Boston. The present first church of Charlestown was formed from the Boston church, November 2, 1632. The writers upon our early history, before Mr. Savage,² have represented our church as being the original, and the Boston church as the offshoot. But this is disproved by the records of the respective churches.

The church in Roxbury was gathered in 1632, and another in Lynn the same year; the last, however, was reorganized a few years after.

The church in Cambridge was organized October 11, 1633; but in 1636, they went with their pastor, Mr. Hooker, as the Dorchester people had done, to Connecticut, and settled the town of Hartford. The present first church of Cambridge was formed February 1, 1636.

From the above, it will appear that the order of the churches, in respect of age, is as follows: 1. Plymouth; 2. Salem; 3. Windsor, Connecticut; 4. Boston and Watertown; 6. Roxbury; 7. Charlestown; 8. Hartford, Connecticut. After these, come, 9. Ipswich, 1634; 10. Newbury, 1635; 11. Weymouth, 1635, July; 12. Hingham, 1635, September; 13. Cambridge, February, 1636; 14. Concord, 1636, July; 15. Dorchester, August, 1636.

NOTE 15, page 22.

THE NEW ENGLAND VERSION OF THE PSALMS.

THE version of Psalms, commonly used by the Fathers of New England in public worship, was that by Sternhold and Hopkins, which was printed at the end of their Bibles. With this translation they were dissatisfied, because it altered in so many instances, both the text and sense of the inspired Psalmist; and it was agreed upon, therefore, by the magistrates and ministers, that a new version should be prepared. The chief divines of the country took each of them a portion to translate; but Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester, were the responsible editors of the work. Their poetic ability, however, seems not to have met with general commendation; Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, addressed to them the following lines:

" You Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime,
Of missing to give us very good rhyme.
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
But with the text's own words, you will them strengthen."

¹ 1 Hist. Coll. v. 166, and ix. 148.

² Winthrop i. 94.

This version was printed at Cambridge, 1640, and was the first book published in New England. The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an Almanac, made for New England, by Mr. William Peirce, mariner; the next was the New Version of the Psalms. The work being thought, however, to require "a little more art," it was committed to Mr. Dunster, president of Harvard College, whose edition was in use among our churches till supplanted by Watts.

The great characteristic of the New England version, was an exact conformity to the original Hebrew and Greek. "I must confess," says Mather, "that the Psalms have never yet seen a translation, that I know of, nearer to the Hebrew original." Mr. Prince, who, at the request of the Old South church, prepared a revised edition of the work in 1757, says in his preface of the original authors, that "they not only had the happiness of approaching nearer to the inspired original, than all other versions in English rhyme; but in many places of excelling them in simplicity of style, and in affecting terms, being the words of God, which more strongly touch the soul; on which accounts, I found in England, it was by some eminent congregations preferred to all others in their public worship, even down to 1717, when I last left that part of the British kingdom." Still, it must be confessed, notwithstanding its correctness as a translation, and the occasional excellence of its style, that it has but little beauty or elegance, and that many of the lines are filled out with insignificant particles which generally enfeeble the style.

This version was long in use among our churches—having passed through more than twenty editions—and was reluctantly exchanged by some congregations only after the American Revolution.

The church of Plymouth used Ainsworth's version, and did not adopt the New England version till the latter part of the seventeenth century.¹

It was the practice for one of the officers of the church to read the hymns and give out the tune. Sometimes other persons were designated to perform this duty. March 7, 1731, it was voted by the town, "that Mr. Stephen Badger, Jr., be desired to read and set the Psalms in the meeting-house, in the time of public worship. Then voted that Mr. Badger be excused his poll-tax so long as he officiates in said work."

NOTE 16, page 30.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PURITANS.

I do not flatter myself that the imperfect account I have given of the origin and character of the Puritans, will commend itself to all as being just even as far as it goes. It is not an easy matter, at any time, to portray the character of a body of men who have originated some great movement; much less is it so, while that movement is still felt, and its final issues are yet unknown. Another difficulty in the way of

¹ Magnalia i. 367. 1 Hist. Coll. vii. xix. and viii. 10. Winthrop i. 289.. Wisner's Hist. O. S. church, p. 99.

forming a just estimate of the Puritan character, arises, I apprehend, from the great diversity of views which prevailed in their own ranks. They were, it is important to remember, the reforming party of the church, embracing almost every shade of opinion from those who were ready to conform in all, or nearly all particulars, to those whose conscientious scruples were so numerous and powerful as to make them sympathize with the Separatists, who denounced the whole English church, like the Roman, as anti-Christian. We doubt not, therefore, that there was a wide diversity of views in the Puritan party, ranging from high views of church authority on the one hand, to a near alliance with rigid separation on the other; and this diversity affords to partizan writers materials for the most opposite representations. But it should be carefully borne in mind, that the Puritans, as a body, were friends—earnest and cordial friends of the church of England. They held to its articles of doctrinal belief without exception—they would have submitted to the essential parts of its discipline and worship, and might have been retained as the most energetic and self-denying members of the church, at the expense of the abolition of a few forms, not at all essential in themselves, and important only as test questions of obedience to authority in matters of religion not sustained by the word of God, and as a tyrannical interference, therefore, with liberty of conscience.

The Puritans were not only distinct from the Separatists, but maintained spirited controversies with them. The Separatists and Puritans were agreed in receiving the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and in opposing certain ceremonies of worship, and unscriptural powers of her courts and bishops. But the Separatists went further, and denied that the English church, as constituted by law, was a true church of Christ; and affirmed that it was a duty to separate from her, and all who held communion with her. This the Puritans zealously opposed, judging that they ought to remain in the church and labor for its reformation. "A separation," said one of them in 1608, "we deny not from the corruption of the church wherein we live; but the difference is, we (i. e., the Puritans) suffer for separating in the church; you, (i. e., the Separatists) out of the church."¹

At first, Robinson and his church were Separatists. But in Holland he is said, by conversing with Dr. Ames and Mr. Parker, to have grown more moderate; and it is certain that the views he afterwards inculcated upon his church, were enlightened and catholic. "He ever held," says Winslow, who lived three years under his ministry, "how wary persons ought to be in separating from a church; and that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, only to bear witness against the corruption that was in it."²

It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, although in England of different and opposing religious views, came to agree upon the same principles of church order. "There will be no difference," said Robinson in his farewell advice to the Pilgrims, "between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And so he advised us by all means, to endeavor to close

¹ See Prince's Chron. p. 303.

² Chron. Pil. p. 388.

with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division; viz., how near we might possibly, without sin, close with them, rather than in the least measure to affect division, or separate from them."¹

And accordingly, those Puritans, who in England would, for the sake of peace and unity, have supported a moderate Episcopacy and a reformed liturgy, when they had crossed the ocean and settled in a wilderness, to escape persecution and "to practice the positive part of church reformation," were prepared, with no surrender of principle, but rather from the same spirit of deference for the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and of regard for Christian union, to go hand in hand with their Plymouth brethren, in ordering their church estate by the light of God's word.

NOTE 17, page 33.

INCREASE NOWELL.

INCREASE NOWELL appears to have married Parnel, the daughter of Catharine Coytmore; for the latter in her will, dated 30. 2. 1658, gives to the five children of her son, Increase Nowell, and to the five children of her daughter, Catharine Greves, Thomas, Nathaniel, Joseph, Rebecca, Susanna, "the dwelling house lately inhabited by myself, now by Mr. Thomas Shepard, near the meeting-house, to be sold and divided equally among them." This house is referred to in the following interesting extract from Sewall's manuscript journal. "January 26, 1697. I lodged at Charlestown, at Mrs. Shepard's, who tells me Mr. Harvard built that house. I lay in the chamber next the street. As I lay awake past midnight, in my meditation, I was affected to consider how long ago God had made provision for my comfortable lodging that night—seeing that was Mr. Harvard's house—and that led me to think of heaven, the house not made with hands, which God for many thousands of years has been storing with the richest furniture, (saints that are from time to time placed there,) and that I had some hopes of being entertained in this magnificent, convenient palace, every way fitted and furnished. These thoughts were very refreshing to me."

The children of Increase and Parnel Nowell, not including three who died in infancy, were

1. Samuel, born November 12, 1634. Graduated at Harvard College, 1653. He became a preacher of the gospel, but was never settled in the ministry. He preached frequently, however, and notes of many of his sermons have been preserved among the Mather manuscripts in the Antiquarian library, at Worcester. One of his sermons was published. It is entitled, "Abraham in Arms; or, the first Religious General with his army engaging in a war for which he had

¹ See Chron. Fil. p. 398.

wisely prepared, and by which not only an eminent victory was obtained, but a blessing gained also. Delivered in an artillery election sermon, June 3, 1678." I am so well pleased with his preface, that I have transcribed it.

"To the Reader:

"Friendly reader, a desire to gratify my friends, hath made me, against my own judgment, to consent to the publication of these notes, taken by one of the auditors; to which I am not able to make that addition, by means of my inability to write, through infirmity in my right hand, which God hath been pleased to exercise me with, almost wholly taking away the use of my hand; what is, therefore, made public, is not mine own notes, but agreeing in the substance with what was delivered. This argument also prevailed with me to let this come forth. I thought others more able, seeing this imperfect work to find acceptance with some, might thereby be provoked to preach and print something that might be more effectual to revive our military discipline, and the spirit of soldiery, which seems to be in its wane, in an age when never more need of it. The love I have for this country, where I drew my first breath, hath made me run the gauntlet by exposing this to the world, hoping that they that fault it, will endeavor to mend it by some mean or other, and to pray for the author, who is a friend to all of such a spirit,

SAMUEL NOWELL."

Mr. Nowell is mentioned by Mather, (vol. II. 492,) as chaplain in the army employed against the Narragansetts. He was also, for several years, treasurer of the college. He afterwards sustained important civil trusts, and was chosen, in 1680, an assistant of the colony, in which office he continued until 1686. The precise date of his death has not been preserved, but it was while Rev. Increase Mather was in London, for there is preserved among the Mather manuscripts belonging to the Old South church, a note of invitation for Mr. Mather to attend the funeral of Mr. Nowell.

Mary, the widow of Samuel Nowell, we learn from Sewall's manuscript journal, died in Charlestown, Monday, August 14, 1693. Funeral August 15. Bearers, Mr. Cook, Major Hutchinson, Sewall, Allen, Willard, Bailly. She was laid in Mr. Usher's tomb.

2. Mehetable, born February 2, 1638. She was admitted to full communion with the church, February 24, 1666-7, under the name of Mehetable Hilton, having married Mr. William Hilton, who was admitted to the church August 14, 1670, by letter of dismission from the church in Newbury. Thomas Shepard, second, calls William Hilton his cousin. The children of William and Mehetable Hilton were—Nowell, born May 4, 1663; Edward, born March 3, 1666; John, baptized May 24, 1668; Richard, born September 13, 1670; and Charles, born April 19, 1673. Mr. Hilton dying 7th 7 mo. 1675, she afterwards married Dea. John Cutler, and died September, 1711, aged seventy-three years eight months. Her grave-stone is still standing in our burying-ground.

This William Hilton was a mariner, and I suppose him to be the author of a book I found in the extensive and highly valuable library

of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington city. It is entitled, "A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the coast of Florida, (from latitude 31 to 33 degrees, 45 minutes north latitude,) by William Hilton, commander and commissioner with Captain Anthony Long and Peter Fabian, in the ship Adventure, which set sail from Spikes Bay, August 10, 1663, and was set forth by several gentlemen and merchants of the Island of Barbadoes." It gives an interesting "account of the nature and temperature of the soil, the manners and disposition of the natives, and whatsoever else is remarkable therein." Printed in London, 1664.

3. Increase, baptized May 19, 1640. He appears to have followed the seas.

4. Mary, born May 26, 1643. She joined the church February 23, 1668, under the name of Mary Winslow, having married Isaac Winslow, August 14, 1666. After his death she married Mr. John Long, September 10, 1674.

5. Besides these, there was Alexander, who graduated at Harvard College, 1664; was the author of several almanacs, and died 1672.

The substance of Mr. Increase Nowell's will is as follows:

"My will is, that my son Increase, his own inclination being to sea, be brought up a seaman. Next, my will is, that my son Alexander, if he incline to learning, be brought up a scholar, if the estate be able to bear it, and he prove towardly and capable; if not, in some other honest trade, and my executors and overseers think meet." He ordered his estate to be divided into six parts, of which Samuel was to have two, Increase, Alexander, Mehetable and Mary, one. He bequeathed £40 to his pastor, Zechariah Symmes, and the same to Mr. Wilson, and 20s. apiece to the Ruling Elder, John Greene, and the two Deacons, Ralph Mousall and Robert Hale. He appointed his wife and his son Samuel, his executors, and the two deacons his overseers. The whole estate amounted to £592, besides 3,200 acres of land, granted by the General Court, in 1650, and situated near the Merrimack River, in New Hampshire, but not then laid out.

NOTE 18, page 33.

CAPT. RICHARD SPRAGUE.

THE original will of Capt. Sprague is preserved in the probate office, and an ancient copy of it is among the church papers. It bears date October 5, 1703.

"First and principally, I recommend my soul to Almighty God my Creator, hoping and believing to receive full pardon and free remission of all my sins, and to be saved by the precious death and merits of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Christ Jesus, and my body to the earth, from whence it was taken, to be therein buried in a decent and Christian manner, according to the directions of my executors hereinafter named."

After providing for the payment of his debts, he bequeaths,

1. £100 to the church in money, part of it to be laid out and invested in four silver tankards for sacramental use, and the rest to be disposed of by the deacons and their successors, for the best advantage of the church.

2. £50 to Rev. Simon Bradstreet.

3. £20 to Rev. Mr. Michael Wigglesworth.

4. £500 to his sister, Mary Edmands, and her children.

5. To the five sons of his eldest brother, John Sprague, deceased, and to the two sons of his brother, Samuel Sprague, deceased, his farm-house, land, wood-lot, or tenement occupied by Charles Hunnewell, and £20 apiece.

6, 7, 8. Various sums to several relatives and friends whom he mentions.

9. To his sister, Mary Edmands, a silver tankard, and his dwelling house and land adjoining, to be disposed of after her death for the benefit of the poor in the town; also, all his household stuff to be disposed of for the annual benefit of the poor.

10. Disposes of his wearing apparel.

11. "I do give and bequeath the house and land Mr. Simon Bradstreet now possesseth, unto my sister, Mary Edmands, during her natural life; and after that, to Mr. Bradstreet aforesaid, during his continuance in the work of the ministry in the town of Charlestown, the town paying the sum of £10, according to the town's vote, for the rent thereof; and after Mr. Simon Bradstreet's death, or discontinuance in the work of the ministry in this said town of Charlestown, I do give and bequeath unto the said town of Charlestown, the said house and land, to be and to remain for the use of the ministry in said town forever, and not to be alienated or disposed of for any other use or uses whatsoever."

13. "I do give and bequeath unto Harvard College, in Cambridge, the sum of £400 in money, to be disposed of according to the discretion and management of the now President, and the Hon. John Leveret, Mr. William Brattle, and Mr. Simon Bradstreet; and further, I do give unto the poor of the town of Charlestown, my fourth part of the sloop Friendship, the same to be put to interest for the use of the poor aforesaid, to be managed by the selectmen of the town."

The remaining parts of the will consist of additional legacies to his relatives and friends, excepting this clause in a codicil: "I give and bequeath unto the free-school in Charlestown, £50 money, to be put to interest by the selectmen or treasurer, annually, for the use of said school; the interest only to be spent yearly for the end aforesaid; the principal not to be used any other ways but by letting for lawful interest, and the interest to be annually improved as aforesaid."

The house bequeathed to the poor of the town, in the paragraph numbered 9, was sold, as we learn from the town records, to Samuel Henley, May 13, 1732.

NOTE 19, page 34.

LIST OF DEACONS.

THE first three deacons of the church were Ralph Mousall, Robert Hale, and Thomas Lynde. Ralph Mousall and Robert Hale were among the original members of the church, and were probably appointed when the church was organized; the first died April 30, 1657, and the second July 16, 1659. Thomas Lynde was admitted to the church February 4, 1636; but of his appointment to the office of deacon, no record is left. He died December 30, 1671. William Stilson and Robert Cutler were ordained deacons October 16, 1659, the former of whom was admitted to the church March 22, 1633, and died April 11, 1691, aged ninety-one years; and the latter was admitted to the church at the same time with John Harvard and Anna his wife, November 6, 1637, and died March 7, 1665. John Cutler, the son of Deacon Robert, and Aaron Ludkin, were ordained deacons February 25, 1672, and both died the same year, 1694; the first, September 18, and the second, March 26. "On the 28th April, 1695, three deacons (the church being then wholly destitute) having been formerly and regularly nominated, and declared in the whole congregation, namely, Mr. William Foster, Mr. John Call, and Mr. Joseph Kettle; Mr. Foster excused himself because of the infirmity of his age, and therefore the other two only were this day ordained."¹

There is in the burying-ground, the grave-stone of Deacon Edward Wilson, who died December 31, 1706, aged seventy-three. He was admitted to the church July 29, 1660; but of his election or ordination to the office of deacon, no record remains.

In addition to those mentioned above, the following persons have successively filled the office of deacon:

Jonathan Cary, chosen Deacon	May 3, 1710.
Samuel Frothingham, "	June 5, 1723.
Jonathan Kettel,	" "
Michael Bridgen,	February 5, 1752.
Thomas Symmes,	" "
William Kettell,	January 21, 1763.
John Frothingham, "	" "
David Cheever,	January 20, 1768.
Timothy Austin,	" "
John Larkin,	June 8, 1787.
Thomas Miller,	" "
James Frothingham, "	January 21, 1793.
Amos Tufts,	July 5, 1804.
Matthew Skelton,	— 1818.
John Doane, Jr., ordained Deacon	January 10, 1833.
Enoch Hunt, chosen Deacon	October 13, 1836.
Ebenezer Ford,	November 8, 1839.
Oliver Dickson,	February 3, 1842.

¹ Record by Mr. Morton.

NOTE 20, page 35.

MEETING-HOUSE AND SABBA'-DAY HOUSE.

THE town records say, under date of November 26, 1639, "Mr. William Rainsborough bought the old meeting-house and paid for it in full payment, to Mr. Nowell and Thomas Lind, one hundred pounds for the church's use, which monies went towards charge of building the new meeting-house."

And in the margin is the following: "Mr. William Rainsborough pays for the old meeting-house that stands between the town and the neck, £100 to Mr. Increase Nowell and Thomas Lind towards building the new meeting-house, newly built in the town, on the south side of the Town Hill."

It would seem from this, that the Great House was either abandoned and another built farther up, or else was moved from the place where it was built. But this is the only notice I have found of any meeting-house "between the town and the neck."

In Winthrop's journal, under the date of June, 1636, is the following notice: "Mr. Winthrop, Jun., gave £5 towards the building of the meeting-house at Charlestown. I sent it by James Brown." This it would seem from the date, must have been given for the house "between the town and the neck."

In this connection it will be interesting to introduce an order from the town records, which exhibits the care of our ancestors to provide for the comfort of those who come from a distance to attend worship. Small houses were built, called Sabba'-day houses, for such to assemble in as lived too far to return home at noon. Under date of May 9, 1639, is the following record: "It was ordered that a watch-house should be built with a chimney in it of convenient largeness to give entertainment on the Lord's day to such as live remote from the meeting-house, and that there shall be a small room added or taken out of it for widow Morly to live in. The two constables and Robert Hale were appointed to order the building of the watch-house."

This proceeding may reveal, perhaps, the cause of the erection of a meeting-house towards the neck, and the condition upon which it was rebuilt in the square. But, however this may be, it is interesting, as exhibiting a usage of those early days.

It was customary in country towns, to erect several small houses for the purpose for which our watch-house was built. The following is an extract from the centennial address of the Rev. Grant Powers, of Goshen, Connecticut.

"These houses generally consisted of two rooms ten or twelve feet square, with a chimney in the centre between them, and a fire-place in each room. They were generally built at the united expense of two or more families. Dry fuel was kept in each house, ready for kindling a fire. On the morning of the Sabbath, the owner of each room deposited in his saddle-bags the necessary refreshment for himself and family, and a bottle of beer and cider, and took an early start for the sanctuary. He first called at his *Sabba'-day house*, built him a fire, deposited his luncheon, warmed himself and family; and at the

hour of worship, they were all ready to sally forth, and to shiver in the cold, during the morning services at the house of worship. At noon they returned to their Sabba'-day house, with some invited friends perhaps, where a warm room received them; the fire having been in operation during the morning exercises. The saddle-bags were now brought forth, and their contents discharged upon a prophet's table, of which all partook a little, and each in turn drank at the bottle. This service being performed, and thanks returned, the patriarch of the family drew from his pocket the notes he had taken during the morning service, and the sermon came under renewed and distinct consideration, all enjoying the utmost freedom in their remarks. Sometimes a well-chosen chapter or paragraph was read from an author, and the service was not unfrequently concluded by prayer; then all returned to the sanctuary to seek a blessing there. If the cold was severe, the family might return to their house to warm them before they sought their habitation. The fire was then extinguished, the saddle-bags and the fragments were gathered up, the house locked, and all returned to their home."

NOTE 21, page 41.

THOMAS JAMES.

MR. SAVAGE, the learned editor of Winthrop, thought it more probable that Mr. James did not return to England, but was the Thomas James who died in East Hampton, 1696. He is now, however, satisfied that they were different persons. The testimony of Prince and Hubbard would seem decisive; and that he had a son who was studying for the ministry, we learn from Johnson. Prince says, p. 413, "When I lived at Comb's in Suffolk, from 1711 to 16, Mr. Thomas Denny, a pious and ancient gentleman there, informed me that he knew the Rev. Mr. Thomas James, minister of Needham, about four miles off, who he said came from New England." Hubbard says, p. 191, that he continued in the work of the ministry till the year 1678, when he was about the eighty-sixth year of his age, and might be living at the time he wrote. Johnson bestows the following lines upon him:

"Thy native soil, O James, did thee approve,
 God's people there in Lincolnshire commend;
 Thy courteous speech, and work of Christian love,
 Till Christ through seas did thee on message send.
 With learned skill his mind for to unfold,
 His people in New England thou must feed;
 But one sad breach did cut that band should hold,
 Then part wilt thou lest farther jars should breed,
 Yet part thou wilt not with Christ's truth, thy crown.
 But my muse wails that any soldier should
 In fighting slip; why, James, thou fallest not down!
 Back thou retreat'st—then valiant fighting; hold
 Fast on thy Christ, who thine may raise with thee;
 His bands increase when leaders he provides;
 Thy son, young student, may such blessing be,
 Thy loss repair, and Christ thee crown besides."¹

¹ Wonder Working Providence, ch. 26.

NOTE 22, page 46.

THOMAS ALLEN.

THE following facts have been gleaned by Mr. Savage, in his late visit to England, respecting Mr. Allen. He was the son of John Allen, a dyer, of Norwich, of a competent estate, born and baptized 1608. He was chosen minister of St. Edmund's a second time, and continued so till August 24, 1662, about eleven years. He took his first degree, 1627, and his second, 1631. His first wife was Anne Sadler, of Patcham, in Sussex, by whom he had a son, Thomas. His second wife was the widow of Major Sedgwick, by whom he had no issue.

Our church records show the baptism of Mary, daughter of Thomas and Anne Allen, 15th 12mo., 1639. And from the Boston records we learn that Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Anne Allen, was born 31. 11. 1639. And Sarah, their daughter, was born 8. 6. 1641, and was buried 21. 2. 1642. Elizabeth, their daughter, was born 17. 7., and died 29. 7. 1642. And Mercy, their daughter, was born 13. 6. 1646, and died 17. 6. 1646.

NOTE 23, page 47.

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM.

AT the session of the General Court, in May, 1646, a bill was presented by some of the elders for a synod to be held in the end of summer. The magistrates passed it, but the deputies objected, because the churches were required by the bill to send messengers, and they were not satisfied that Christ had given the civil authority any such power over the churches, and also because the design of the synod was to establish one uniform practice for all the churches, which was to be approved by the General Court; and this seemed to give power either to the synod or the court to compel the churches to practice what should so be established.

In answer to these objections, it was said and admitted by all, that the civil magistrate had power to require the churches to send messengers to advise in regard to those ecclesiastical matters, either of doctrine or discipline, the purity and truth of which the magistrate was bound by God to maintain. And then it was held, the synod was to proceed not by way of power, but of counsel from the word of God; and the court was at liberty to disannul or establish the agreement of the synod as they saw fit, which put no more authority into their hands than they already had by the word of God, as well as by their own laws and liberties. It was voted, therefore, that the civil authority had power to call a synod when they saw fit; but from tender regard to the scruples of some, it was determined that the synod should be convened by way of motion only, and not of command to the churches.

As the time for the synod to meet, drew near, it was propounded to the churches, and the same or similar objections were raised as had been made by the deputies. Those who were principally concerned in raising these objections, were some persons in Boston who had recently come from England, where the largest liberty was claimed and allowed by the Independents, and the greater part of the House of Commons. Governor Winthrop has preserved a particular account of the debate held on this subject, in the Boston church. The question was agitated and no conclusion reached, two Lord's days; and the elders sat down much grieved in spirit, but told the congregation they felt it their duty to attend the synod notwithstanding; not as sent by the church, but as called by the court.

The assembly met at Cambridge, 1st September. The next day, being the Boston Lecture, Mr. Norton of Ipswich, preached a sermon to a vast auditory, on Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the mount, in which he laid down the nature and power of synods as only consultative, decisive, and declarative, not coactive; and spoke with so much effect upon this subject, and upon the duty of churches to yield obedience to the civil magistrate, and the great scandal of refusing to do so, that on the next Lord's day, a majority of the church voted to send three messengers with their elders to the assembly.

Owing to these circumstances, the synod, upon coming together, discussed the question as to the magistrates' power in matters of religion; and after a session of fourteen days, delivered their judgment in the following proposition: "The civil magistrate, in matters of religion, or of the first table, hath power civilly to command or forbid things respecting the outward man, which are clearly commanded or forbidden in the word, and to inflict suitable punishments, according to the nature of the same."

This proposition, with arguments and testimonies in confirmation of it, was printed at London, 1654, together with a discourse upon the doctrine, by Thomas Allen. It was bound up with a small treatise about the nature and power of synods.

It being near winter, and few of the elders from other colonies being present, the synod adjourned to June 8, 1647. At the second session, no business was accomplished in consequence of an epidemic disease, which prevailed through the colonies, among Indians and English, French and Dutch, of which died, the very day before the synod assembled, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, and just one week after, Margaret, the wife of Gov. Winthrop.

The synod met again by adjournment, August 15. Mr. Allen, of Dedham, preached from Acts xv., a chapter containing the history of the council of Jerusalem. The Platform, framed by the synod at this time, was presented to the General Court, in the month of October, 1648, and by them accepted and approved.

From that time to this, the Platform, for substance, has been recognized as the standard of Congregational discipline. This Platform has been once solemnly re-affirmed. A synod convened by the General Court, at Boston, September 10, 1679, having read and considered it, unanimously approved of it, "for the substance of it," "desiring that the churches may continue steadfast in the order of the gospel, according to what is therein declared from the word of God."

It deserves especial notice, that the Platform was re-affirmed "for the substance of it," for in some particulars, there was an early, and at length, a universal departure from the Platform; but these particulars were then, and are now, few in number, and by no means essential to it. Mather enumerates four of these departures or modifications. The first respected the power of the pastor to administer the sacraments to any but his own congregation. The Platform does not deny this power, but inasmuch as Cotton and others had, it was not fully asserted. [See chapter v. section 2.] This power, however, was very soon universally conceded; and by a meeting of the neighboring ministers, at Cambridge, it was declared to be their judgment that the Platform approved of it.

2. The doctrine of the distinct office of ruling elders, was also early questioned.

3. Lay ordination also was rarely practised, and as rarely approved. The right and validity of such ordinations, when necessary, has been always admitted; but the propriety of them, in the presence of ordained ministers, was from the first questioned, and has been so generally disapproved of, that their occurrence has been very rare.

4. The practice of public examinations, for admission to the church, has been discontinued.

And besides these, the doctrine of the power of the civil magistrate, in matters ecclesiastical, has been modified since the adoption of the constitution of 1780.¹

NOTE 24, page 51.

THOMAS ALLEN'S LETTER RESPECTING THE EARLY INDIAN MISSIONS.

"Honored Sir:

"It seems that some of late have been so impudently bold (which I cannot sufficiently wonder at) as to report and publicly affirme, that there was no such thing as the preaching and dispensing of the Gospell amongst the Natives in New England. Verily Sir, I doe believe that the Devill himselfe (who is the Father of Lyes) would not, yea, durst not have uttered such a notorious untruth as that was. Now, although I confesse I have not been present at the places where the Indians are wont to meete, to heare such as doe preach unto them, by reason of my bodily weakness, and indisposition to travell so farre into the Wildernesse, yet thus much I can testifie, (if my Testimony may be of any use), being lately come over from New England, that there are divers persons in severall places, who doe take paines, and labour in that Worke there; viz., not onely Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, who hath preached among them for many yeares, up and downe in the Jurisdiction of the Massachusets; and Mr. Mahew, who for a good

¹ Winthrop II. 264-269, 308-330. Magnalia II. 179-212. Hubb. ch. v. 8.

while hath taken paines among the Indians, at an Island called Martin's Vineyard; but of late, also Mr. Leveridge, in the Jurisdiction of Plymouth, and Mr. Blynman, who lives now in a new Plantation, in the Pequott's Country. As for the successe of the preaching of the Gospell unto the Natives, I have heard Mr. Eliot affirme, that he is so well perswaded of the Worke of grace in some of them, as that he could comfortably joyne in Church fellowship with them. Mr. Mahew, also, (who came to see mee a little before my coming from thence,) told me that after Mr. Whitefield's coming thence, (for he had been upon that Island, as he came to the Bay, and was present also with Mr. Mahew amongst the Indians,) there were neer upon one hundred (I think he said Ninety and odd) persons of them more who came in to heare him preach unto them, and some Pawaws also, and one of some eminency amongst them, who did acknowledge his evill in such doings, and made a Declaration of the manner how he came at first to be a Pawaw, the which also Mr. Mahew did relate unto mee. Sir, that there is such a work in hand in New England, as the preaching of the Gospel unto the Natives there, all the Magistrates and Ministers, and people in that place (who know anything) will be readie to attest; and therefore, such as dare affirme the contrary, may as well say that the Sunne doth not shine at Noone day, when the skie is cleere, and doe indeed deserve a Publique Witsesse to be borne against them for such a Publique and so notorious an untruth; the good Lord humble them deeply for it, if it be his good will, and pardon it to them through his grace in Christ.

"Thus, Sir, not having furthur at this present to be troublesome unto you, desiring an interest in your earnest prayers for mee, beseeching the Lord to let his presence and blessing be with you, and upon your great and weighty businesses, I take leave, resting

"Your humble Servant in the Lord,

THOMAS ALLEN."

"*Norwich, 8th 11mo., 1651.*"

NOTE 25, page 59.

ORIGIN OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

I HAVE thought it best to transcribe from the records, all that remains respecting the cases of Thomas Gould and Thomas Osborn. The following extracts follow, at intervals, the one to be found on pages 56 and 57, and together with that, present the whole history of the case, as left by the records of the church.

Nov. 18, 1663. Bro. Thomas *Osborn* being leavened with principles of *Anabaptisme* was (the brethren consenting) *admonished* for frequent irregular withdrawing himself from the publick worship of God, holding it to be no sin to neglect the publick ordinances of God upon the Lord's day, even when they might conveniently be enjoyed; and for continuing impenitent in his sin. On the same day also, it

was consented to by the brethren, that *his wife*, leavened with principles of *Anabaptisme* and *Quakerisme*, should receive an admonition, for her notorious neglect of the publique worship of God, *denying our churches* to be true churches, and denying her membership with us, and, also, the churches power over her, and continuing impenitent in her sin. She went home from the assembly, when the admonition should have been declared to her, but however it was declared that she was under the publick offence of the church. And at the same time Bro. *Thomas Gool* also persisting in his schismatical withdrawing from the church, notwithstanding his former admonition, and now for denying his relation to this church, as a brother of it, and also for denying the churches power over him, was againe (with the consent of the brethren) declared to be under the great offence of the church, and rebuked for his impenitency in that sin of his.

Feb. 21, 1664. Bro. *Thomas Osburn* received a second admonition (with the consent of the brethren) for his obstinacy in his former sin, for which he had been (Nov. 18) admonished, and aggravated by another degree of schisme, refusing (as he expressly and vehemently affirmed) to hold communion with the church any longer, as formerly he had done; because we held *baptisme* of children to be an ordinance of God, &c.

Feb. 28, 1664. Bro. *Thomas Gool* was again admonished (with the consent of the brethren) for his impenitency in his former sin of schisming for which he had been admonished, and withall now refusing to give an account to the church who did enquire concerning a *private meeting* kept at his house on the Lord's day (Novemb. 8, 1663) with Bro. Osburn and other Anabaptists, when he should, and might conveniently have been present with the church in the publick worship of God; he said it was not the season for him to answer, and therefore would not give an account of it; for which things above said, he was accordingly censured.

July 9, 1665. The church, hearing that Bro. *Gool* and Bro. *Osburn* had together with other Anabaptists, *embodied* themselves in a pretended church way; sent *Deacon Lynd* and *Deacon Stittson* to them with this message; viz: That they should be present with this church the next Lord's day in the public worship of God, and at the evening thereof to stay, and give an account to the church of that report which was heard concerning them, as also concerning their former offences: and the church did then desire our Deacons to acquaint our *Sister Osburn* (that hath been for some time under the public offence of the church) with that meeting, and that she should be present likewise with her husband.

July 16, 1665. Our Deacons having carried the message of the church to Bro. *Gool*, Bro. *Osburn*, and our *Sister Osburn*, to come and hear the church; the answer returned back to the church was negative. Bro. *Gool* said he should not come, and if our church had any thing to say against him, they should acquaint the society with it to which he was *then joined*: saying also that he was no member of our church; and said, your church hath nothing to do with me. Bro. *Osburn* said that he had given his reasons to the church formerly why he could not hold communion with it, viz: because of Infant Baptism; 2. our allowing none but such as had *human learning* to be in the

ministry ; 3. our *severe dealing* with those of a contrary judgment from us ; and therefore said he should not come to the church. Our Sister Osburn's was that she desired not to continue with the church, but would be *dismissed which way they would*, and that she could not come to the church, she should sin against her conscience if she did.

These members thus refusing to appear, the church judged it meet to *wait* with some further patience upon our brethren abovesaid, and sister : and they did therefore desire our Deacons again, with our brother Ensign Tidd, to carry this message following to them, viz : to tell them that they are under the *further offence* of the church for their separating from our communion, and refusing to hear the church, and that the church doth desire, and require them in the name of Christ that they return to us, and come and hear the church and give an account the next Lord's day of their withdrawing.

July 23, 1665. Our messengers having delivered the message abovesaid to Bro. Gool, Bro. Osburn, and Sister Osburn ; the answer returned by them was the same (in a manner) they gave the week before ; Bro. Gool denying his relation to the church in Charlestown, and that they had nothing to do with him, and also said that they were to have the Lord's Supper administered in their church the next Lord's day and therefore he should not come : Bro. Osburn said he should not come to the church and that the church might proceed as they pleased with him : our Sister Osburn's answer was as formerly, refusing to come. Whereupon it was propounded to vote (after a proposal of it had been made by some of the brethren) That if there did come in nothing of *repentance manifested* by these persons to the church between this and the *next Lord's day*, whether then the church should proceed (seeing these matters had formerly been so fully and often debated) without further debating the matter the next Lord's day, and (if nothing of more than ordinary weight to hinder did fall out in the interim) that then these our brethren and she our sister should have the censure of *excommunication* passed against them ? It was unanimously carried by a *silentary* vote in the affirmative, not one of the brethren present expressing a word against it.

July 30, 1665. Nothing of repentance intervening, Bro. Thomas Gool, Bro. Thomas Osburn, and his wife our Sister Osburn, were (with the consent of the brethren) *excommunicated* for their impenitency in their schismatical withdrawing from the church and neglecting to hear the church."

A document has been preserved by Backus, and incorporated into his history of the Baptists, purporting to be a narrative written by Mr. Gould himself, of his treatment by the church. This document, he says, he met with among Mr. Callender's papers, and had good reason to think it genuine. In order that both sides of the controversy may be presented, I have thought it best to give the substance of Mr. Gould's own account, abridging it, but preserving its spirit and style.

He says, that having had scruples a long time in regard to infant baptism, he refrained from offering his child, born in 1655, for that ordinance, keeping silence, and waiting to see what the church would do. On a third day of the week, when there was a meeting at his house to keep a day of thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown to his wife, he received a note from the elders of the church, desiring

him to come down to their house on the morrow, and let them know when he would come, and they would stay at home for him; and if he could not come that day, to send them word. He was prevented from accepting this proposal by a previous engagement, and sent back word accordingly. On the fifth day, meeting with Elder Green, he told him how it was; and the elder promised to see the pastor, and appoint another day and send him word. After a silence of two months, he was requested to stop on a first day in the afternoon, and meet the church. He was then called out, and "Master Sims" told the church that he withheld his child from baptism, and had refused to meet them or appoint a time for it, when they wrote to him to take his own time and send them word. This led to an angry altercation as to what the letter contained—Mr. Symmes charging Mr. Gould with falsehood—when Brother Thomas Wilder producing the letter, substantiated Mr. Gould's statement, and forced Mr. Symmes to confess that he was mistaken. After this, Mr. Gould was questioned in regard to his reasons for withholding his child from baptism. The following week, at a meeting of the church, held at Mr. Russell's house, efforts continued to be made to satisfy his conscience, when Mr. Symmes is represented again as being very positive, and being obliged to confess himself in the wrong.

At another meeting, during the discussion, W. D. stood up in the church and said twice, "put him in the court." Mr. Symmes said, "pray, forbear such words;" but Mr. Gould said it proved so, for he was soon put into seven or eight courts, while he was still looked upon as a member of their church. The elder pressed the church to lay him under admonition, but they were backward to do it. After this, he went out at the sprinkling of children; but because it was a great trouble to some honest hearts, he was prevailed upon to stay; he sat down, however, during the administration, and then they dealt with him for irreverent conduct; one accused him of stopping his ears, but he denied it.

At another meeting, he was asked if he would suffer the church to fetch his child and baptize it? He replied, yes, if it might be made known that he had no hand in it; then some of the church were against doing so. A brother stood up and said, Brother Gould, you were once for infant baptism, why are you fallen from it? He replied, why were you once for crossing in baptism? This greatly offended Mr. Symmes, who desired the church to take notice that he compared the ordinance of Christ to the cross in baptism; and this was made one of the offences for which he was dealt with. After this, the Deputy Governor, meeting him in Boston, desired him to let the church baptize his child, to which he consented, if they did it on their own account. He then called to Mrs. Norton, of Charlestown, and prayed her to fetch Goodman Gould's child and baptize it. She, through misapprehension, however, gave the impression that he would bring his child out. This led to another interview with the church, when one of the brethren said if he would not bring his child to one ordinance, it was meet he should not partake of the other. So many of the church concluded to lay him under admonition; but before they did it, Mr. Symmes told him it was more according to rule, for him to withdraw from the ordinance, than for them to put him by—quoting

Matt. v. 23, 24. But he replied that he did not know that his brother had anything justly against him, and therefore he durst not withdraw from that ordinance that he had found so much of God in. After this, they proceeded to admonition. Elder Green said, "Brother Gould, you are to take notice that you are admonished for three things; the first is, that you refused to bring your child to be baptized; the second is, for your contentious words and unreverent carriage in the time of that ordinance; the third is, for a late lie you told; and therefore, you are to take notice, that you are not to partake any more of the ordinance of Christ with us till you give satisfaction for these things." Mr. Gould says he does not know what this "lie" referred to, unless to the letter mentioned above. This admonition took place seven or eight years before he was cast out. After this, he went to Cambridge meeting, which was as near to his house as the other; upon that, he was put into court, because he did not come to hear; but it appearing that he went constantly to Cambridge, he was cleared. After this, he was dealt with for schism, or rending from the church. But he told them he did not rend from them, for they put him away. "Master Symmes was very earnest for another admonition, which most of the church were against; but it seems he set it down for an admonition on a bit of paper."

Things remained in this condition for a long time. In the meantime some Baptist friends having come from England, they began to hold meetings at Mr. Gould's house, on the Lord's day. For this he was again summoned before the church. His answer was, "I know not what reason the church had to call me forth." Being asked if he was not a member of the church, he replied, "they had not acted toward me as a member—they had denied me the privileges of a member, who had put me by the ordinances seven years ago. They asked whether I looked upon admonition as an appointment of Christ? I told them yes, but not to lie under it above seven years, and to be put by the ordinances of Christ in the church; for the rule of Christ is, first to deal with men in the first and in the second place, and then in the third place before the church; but the first time that ever they dealt with me, they called me before the whole church. Many meetings were held about this thing, whether I was a member or not; but they could come to no conclusion, for I still affirmed that their actings rendered me no member. Then Mr. Symmes told the church I was ripe for excommunication, and was very earnest for it, but the church would not consent." He then desired a council, but Mr. Symmes answered, "we are a church of Christ ourselves, and you shall know that we have power to deal with you ourselves." Mr. Russell said, "we have not gone the right way to gain this our brother, for we have dealt too harshly with him." Still Mr. Symmes pressed the church to excommunicate him. Mr. Russell said, "There were greater errors in the church in the apostles' time, and yet they did not so deal with them." Mr. Symmes asked him what they were? He replied, "How say some of you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" Mr. Symmes was troubled, and said, "I wonder you will bring this place of Scripture to encourage him in his error!" Mr. Symmes was earnest for another admonition; then stood up Solomon Phips, and said, "You may clap one admonition on him upon another, but to what end, for he

was admonished about seven years ago." Mr. Symmes said, "Brother! do you make such a light matter of admonition, to say 'clap one upon another!' doth not the apostle say, 'after the first and second admonition reject an heretic?' therefore, there might be a second admonition." It was answered, it was a hard matter to prove a man an heretic, for every error doth not make a man a heretic. Mr. Symmes said, "It was not seven years, nor above three since I was admonished, and that was for schism." A brother replied, "It was seven years since I was admonished." A difference arising for what he was admonished, "Mr. Symmes pulled a bit of paper out of his pocket and said, 'This is that he was admonished for, and that was but three years since.' Brother Phips asked him when that paper was writ, for he never heard of that admonition before. He answered, he set it down for his own memory; then he read it, that it was for schism, and rending from the church. I told him I did not rend from the church, but the church put me away from them four years before this. Then there was much agitation when the admonition was given, and what it was for. And this was all the church records that could be found which was about seven years after the admonition was given; so after many words, we broke up, which was the last time we met together. Now let any man judge of the church records that were drawn up against me, and read at the dispute in Boston, which contained three or four sheets of paper—read by Mr. Shepard, and drawn up by him, a little while before the dispute, who was not an eye nor ear witness to the church's actings not above half the time."

After this Mr. Gould and his associates embodied themselves into a church. The church hearing of this, sent three messengers to him, telling him the church required him to come before them the next Lord's day. He replied, the church had nothing to do with him, for they had put him from them eight years before. He said he was joined to another church and that church was not willing he should come, and he would not come without their consent. The next week the same number of messengers came to him, requiring his attendance the next Lord's day. He again declined. They told him that if he did not come, the church would proceed against him the next Lord's day. He told them he could not come, for they were to break bread the next Lord's day. "The last day of that week, three loving friends coming to me of their own account, one of them said, Brother Gould, though you look upon it as unjust for them to cast you out, yet there be many that are godly among them that will act with them through ignorance, which will be a few of them, and you are persuaded I believe that it is your duty to prevent any one from any sinful act, for they will cast you out for not hearing the church; now your coming will stop them from acting against you, and so keep many from that sin. Upon these words I was clearly convinced that it was my duty to go, and replied, although I could not come the next day, yet I promised to attend the following Lord's day. He replied, what if the church I am joined to was not willing? I told him I did not question that any one would be against it upon this ground. After I had propounded it to the church, not one was against it. I entreated these friends to make it known to the elders that I would come to them the next Lord's day after; yet, though they knew of it, they

proceeded against me that day, and delivered me up to Satan for not hearing the church."

Such is Mr. Gould's own account of this unhappy controversy. A part of it, it will be seen, respects proceedings of which we have no account on the part of the church, and if, therefore, it should receive all the consideration which similar *ex parte* representations are commonly held entitled to, it would not be sufficient to prejudice a candid mind against Mr. Symmes and the church, in the particulars in which it bears so hard against them. We do not mean to say that nothing was said or done by the church and pastor, in the excitement and heat of the controversy, of which Mr. Gould might not justly complain; we would on the contrary give to his narrative all the confidence which is due to narratives of the kind; but, when we remember how much is to be allowed for the coloring which the interested party cannot fail to impart to such a narrative, how long a period of time it covers, how much which respected the action of the church he was necessarily ignorant of and could learn only from others, and how long after the transactions he mentions his narrative was in all probability written, we shall not be disposed to regard the entire narrative as a veritable history, and condemn a pastor and people unheard in self-defence, on the testimony of a single witness, and he, an interested party, though we doubt not of honest intentions.

Between Mr. Gould's narrative and the church records some contradictions will be observed. He denies the correctness of Mr. Symmes' account, and implies that it was written long after the transactions mentioned. Mr. Symmes, however, concludes his record of the meeting of June 6, 1658, thus: "This transaction was speedily, after the acting thereof, truly recorded by the then only elder of this church, Zech: Symmes." He also says, that the church records read in the dispute in Boston, were drawn up at that time by Mr. Shepard, and that he was not an eye or ear witness to the church's actings above half the time. These records no doubt are the same which still exist, and they have every appearance of having been written at the time the dates specify, being interspersed with other votes and transactions recorded in like manner under their respective dates. And to all the transactions which he recorded, Mr. Shepard was undoubtedly a witness. Mr. Gould was excommunicated July 30, 1665, and Mr. Shepard was settled April 13, 1659, more than six years before and less than a year after the commencement of this case of discipline, as recorded by Mr. Symmes June 6, 1658.

I have no disposition to rake over the ashes of this ancient controversy, or unnecessarily to say one word in disparagement of Mr. Gould. But when his narrative is adopted as unmingled truth, as it has been by Backus and Benedict, who have incorporated it into their respective histories, notwithstanding its contrariety to the official records of the church, and apparently without an effort to sift the evidence on both sides, it is sufficiently obvious that great injustice is done to the memory of our fathers. Whoever will take the pains to look into Willard's Reply to Russell's Narrative, will find that the statements made by Mr. Gould and reiterated by writers of that denomination since, were from the first contradicted. Increase Mather, in the preliminary address to the Reader, says he verily believes that the

Anabaptists, by their fallacious narrative, have offended God, inasmuch as the things they have misrepresented were not done afar off, but at home, where right information was easy to be had; if they had been willing to have known and that others should know the truth. "As for those," he says, "of the Antipedobaptistical persuasion, who differ from us only in that particular, I would speak to them as unto brethren, whom (their error—for so I believe it is—notwithstanding) I love, and would bear with, and exercise the same indulgence and compassion towards them, as I would have others do to me, who feel myself compassed with infirmities. I have been a poor laborer in the Lord's vineyard, in this place, upwards of twenty years; and it is more than I know, if, in all that time, any of those that scruple infant baptism, have met with molestation from the magistrate merely on account of their opinion." "I truly profess," he says, "that if any men, either of the Presbyterian or Congregational (or never so much of my) persuasion, in matters referring to church discipline, should behave themselves as the Anabaptists in Boston, in New England, have done, I think they would have deserved far greater punishment than any thing that to this day hath been inflicted upon them."

And in regard to the particular cases of Gould and Osborn, Mr. Willard, at that time pastor of the Old South Church, says, in replying to Russell's Narrative, that "the narrative and truth are strangers, whereof there is sufficient testimony to be found in the records of the church at Charlestown, (whereof they were members;) and there are many faithful witnesses yet alive—who were present at these transactions, and can say if these things be not so—which ought to outweigh the story of a prejudiced person, who hath all by hearsay, whose very business is to palliate and lick over matters to shape them to his own turn." And then he proceeds to mention the particulars in which the Narrative had mis-stated the reasons for Mr. Gould's discipline and excommunication. He asserts that he was admonished, not for withholding his child from baptism, or because he could not be convinced of error, but for speaking contemptuously of the ordinance, and unbecoming conduct in the time of administration, by which, he acknowledged before the congregation he designed to cast disrespect upon it. "Now let the Anabaptists themselves judge, whether there be not a vast difference, between doubting about an ordinance, and professedly vilifying of it by unhandsome words and carriages; and whether they will bear with any member of theirs, that will so condemn any of those things which are to them sacred, and acknowledged as Christ's institutions."

But I do not intend to go into the merits of this controversy. My only design has been to do justice to the church and its pastors, in opposition to those partizan representations, which by adopting without examination the statement of one of the parties, throws all the blame upon the other.¹

¹ Backus's Hist. of the Baptists, chap. 6. Willard's *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*.

NOTE 26,¹ page 62.

OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

THE Old South Church was not only organized in Charlestown, but received its most important member from this church—the Rev. Thomas Thatcher, who was elected and ordained their first pastor. He was admitted to this church, October 24, 1669, by a letter of dismission from the First Church in Boston, given October 9. The original letter of this church, dismissing and recommending Mr. Thatcher to the Old South Church, is preserved among the papers of that church.

NOTE 27, page 66.

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

IMMEDIATELY after the name of Mr. Symmes, in the register of deaths, is that of Mr. Francis Willoughby, who died April 4, 1671. His character and services demand a passing notice. He was Deputy Governor of the colony from 1665 to 1671. He left an estate of £4,050. His wife afterwards married Capt. Lawrence Hammond, who was likewise a distinguished citizen and leading member of the church.

There is a curious old manuscript volume, belonging to the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, containing a journal written in a very difficult cypher, which appears from certain internal evidences, to have been written by Gov. Willoughby. I found a large loose sheet, folded between the pages of the journal, in the hand-writing of Thomas Shepard the 2d, and seeming to be a key, in part, to the cypher. But notwithstanding the aid thus afforded, and the assistance of skilful friends, I have been unable to decypher it, or even judge of the comparative value of its contents. It is entitled "A continuation of my daily observation," and comprises a period of time from 1. 9mo. 1650, to 28. 10mo. 1651. It was certainly written in Charlestown, for on the first page is a brief account, not written in cypher, of a fire, which consumed eleven or twelve houses, 21. 9mo. 1650. In an ancient interleaved almanac, in the possession of Rev. Mr. Sewall of Burlington, is a notice of this fire, under the same date, as happening in Charlestown, proving conclusively that the journal was written in Charlestown. And no doubt this is the calamity to which Johnson alludes in his "Wonder Working Providence," and which he describes as a "terrible fire which happened in Charles-Town, in the depth of Winter, 1650, by a violent wind blown from one house to another, to the consuming of the fairest houses in the Town."²

¹ Misprinted 23.

² 2 Hist. Coll. viii. 24.

NOTE 28, page 72.

MR. SYMMES.

FROM the "Gleanings" by Mr. Savage, in his late visit to England, we derive the following record of the baptism of children born to Mr. Symmes, while he was rector of Dunstable, which was from September, 1625 to 1633.

William, baptized	January 10, 1626.
Marie,	April 16, 1628.
Elizabeth,	January 1, 1629.
Huldah,	March 18, 1630.
Hannah,	August 22, 1632.
Rebekah,	February 12, 1633.

The following baptisms are recorded upon our church books :

Ruth, . baptized	October 25, 1635.
Zachary,	January 12, 1638.
Timothy,	May 12, 1640.
Deborah,	September 6, 1642.

This is exactly the number of the children of Mr. Symmes, when Johnson wrote the following eulogy on his wife.

"Among all the godly women that came through the perilous seas to war their warfare, the wife of this zealous teacher, Mrs. Sarah Symmes, shall not be omitted, nor any other, but to avoid tediousness; the virtuous woman, endued by Christ, with graces fit for a wilderness condition—her courage exceeding her stature—with much cheerfulness did undergo all the difficulties of these times of straits, her God through faith in Christ, supplying all wants with great industry, nurturing up her young children in the fear of the Lord—their number being ten, both sons and daughters, a certain sign of the Lord's intent to people this vast wilderness. God grant that they may be valiant in faith against sin, Satan, and all the enemies of Christ's kingdom, following the example of their father and grandfather, who have both suffered for the same, in remembrance of whom these following lines are placed :

"Come, Zachary, thou must re-edify
 Christ's churches in this desert land of his,
 With Moses' zeal, stamp'd unto dust, defy
 All crooked ways that Christ's true worship miss.
 With Spirit's sword, and armor girt about,
 Thou layest on load proud Prelate's crown to crack,
 And wilt not suffer wolves thy flock to rout,
 Tho' close they creep, with sheep skins on their back.
 Thy father's spirit doubled is upon
 Thee, Symmes—then war, thy father fighting died;
 In prayer, then, prove thou like champion,
 Hold out till death, and Christ will crown provide."

Mather says that his epitaph "mentions his having lived forty-nine years seven months with his virtuous consort, by whom he had thirteen children, five sons and eight daughters."

He also preserves the following "passage, written by Mr. William Symmes, the father of our Zechariah, in a book which was made by a

godly preacher, that was hid in the house of Mr. William Symmes, the father of William, from the rage of the Marian persecution."

"'I note it as a special mercy of God,' (he writes in a leaf of that book,) 'that both my father and mother were favorers of the gospel, and hated idolatry under Queen Mary's persecution. I came to this book by this means: going to Sandwich in Kent, to preach, the first or second year after I was ordained a minister, Anno 1587 or 88, and preaching in St. Mary's, where Mr. Pawson, an ancient godly preacher, was minister, who knew my parents well, and me too, at school; he, after I had finished my sermons, came and brought me this book for a present, acquainting me with the above-mentioned circumstances;' and then he adds, 'I charge my sons Zechariah and William, before Him that shall judge the quick and the dead, that you never defile yourselves with any idolatry or superstition whatsoever, but learn your religion out of God's holy word, and worship God, as he himself hath prescribed, and not after the devices and traditions of men. Scripsi, December 6, 1602.'"

Of the children of Mr. Symmes, Mary was married to Capt. Thomas Savage, 15th 7mo. 1652. Elizabeth married Hezekiah Usher, and another daughter married Samuel Hough.

Zechariah graduated at Harvard College, 1657, and married Susanna Graves, of this town, November 18, 1669, and the birth and baptism of their daughter Katharine, is recorded March 29, and April 2, 1676. He was ordained December 27, 1682, the first minister of Bradford, where he had previously preached fourteen years. He died there 1708, aged seventy-one.

His son, Rev. Thomas Symmes, was born February 1, 1678, graduated at Harvard College, 1698, and was ordained in 1702, the first minister of Boxford. But being dismissed in 1708, he was installed the same year in Bradford, successor to his father, and died October 6, 1725, aged forty-eight. From an interesting and valuable memoir of him, by Rev. John Brown, of Haverhill, published in 1726, we learn that he was distinguished for his eloquence as a preacher, his piety as a Christian, and faithfulness as a pastor. He received his preparatory education in the grammar-school, at Charlestown, under the instruction of the famous master Emerson, who was afterwards school-master at Salem, where he died. He was sustained at college by the help of benefactors, and distinguished himself by his scholarship and real piety. He was married three times. His first wife was Elizabeth Blowers, of Cambridge; his second, Hannah, daughter of Rev. John Pike, of Dover; and his third, Mrs. Eleanor, widow of Eliezer Moody, of Dedham, and daughter of Dr. Benjamin Thompson, of Braintree, who survived him. He left eight children, the eldest of whom, Thomas, resided in Charlestown, and became a deacon in the church. I have been quite desirous to make some extracts from his memoir, especially from the farewell advice he composed and left for his children, and in which he alludes very feelingly to the baptismal covenant, in which he had given them to God. But I must refer to the "plain memorative account" of him, annexed to the sermon preached on occasion of his death.¹

¹ See also Gage's Hist. of Rowley.

NOTE 29, page 72.

DANIEL RUSSELL.

AN elegy, composed on the death of this gentleman, is now in possession of the Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D., of Boston. Some further notices respecting him, and the distinguished family to which he belonged, will be given in note 57.

NOTE 30, page 72.

SEATING THE MEETING-HOUSE.

"FEBRUARY 1, 1675. Agreed with John Fosdick and Nathaniel Frothingham, to provide all timber, and build three galleries, one in the front, and one on each side in the meeting-house, and to make two seats, one before the other, in the galleries, and to make a pair of stairs to each gallery, and to alter the lower stairs going up to the men's galleries, so as may be most convenient for an outlet; the side galleries to run from the front gallery home to the opposite wall; the town to find boards and nails, and to pay for the said work, when completely finished, £46 in town pay; and if it shall appear a hard bargain, twenty shillings more.
Attest, L. HAMMOND, *Recorder*."

The business of assigning seats to the people, belonged formerly to the selectmen of the town. Frequent orders may be met with on the town books for seating individuals. The men and women appear to have sat on different sides of the house. The boys had one of the galleries assigned to them, and constituted a part of the congregation which the fathers of the town found it difficult to manage. The following extract exhibits one of the expedients they devised.

"At a meeting of the selectmen, March 23, 1674. The persons hereinafter mentioned, are appointed to look after the boys, and keep them in order in the meeting-house, upon the Sabbath and lecture days, for the year ensuing, twenty-four persons being ordered to sit two for each month; viz.,

Month 1.	John Larkin, Thomas Larkin;	Month 7.	William Everton, Thomas Hett;
" 2.	Gyles Fyfield, Luke Perkins;	" 8.	John Bennet, John Goodwin;
" 3.	Thomas Adams, Richard Adams;	" 9.	Nathaniel Kettle, Henry Balcom;
" 4.	John Knight, Jr., Thomas Brigden;	" 10.	Richard Tayler, Robert Barret;
" 5.	John Cutler, Jr., John Dowse;	" 11.	Joseph Frost, John Simson;
" 6.	Samuel Dowse, Timothy Cutler;	" 12.	Jonathan Simson, Nathaniel Hutchinson.

"To the respective persons above written :

"GENTLEMEN—The sense of the necessity of the inspection and government of youth, at times of public worshipping of God in our meeting-house, and finding that the way taken to that end the last year, through the care and diligence of the persons attending that work, did very much reach our end propounded, we are encouraged to proceed the same way this year also, and accordingly request you respectively to take your turns in attending the said work, according to the method hereafter propounded, in which we do desire you to do your utmost, that all children and youth that are under age, may be as much within your inspection as the convenience of seats will admit of; not permitting them to scatter up and down in obscure places, where they may be from under a due observance, wherein, if need be, you shall have the assistance of the constable. Your faithful attendance hereunto will doubtless be a service acceptable to God and your brethren, remembering that to be a door-keeper in the house of God, was of high esteem with holy David. We further desire your care to prevent the disorderly running out of youth in time of public worship.

"By order of selectmen,

"LAWR. HAMMOND, *Recorder.*"

This practice was continued until 1682, when Luke Perkins was appointed to attend to this business, for which he was to receive £3 per annum. The experience, however, of both ancient and modern times, has shown that children ought not to be separated from their parents, but that families ought to sit together in the house of God.

NOTE 31, page 73.

TOLERATION.

It has been very common to reproach our fathers as having exhibited the spirit of intolerance and persecution in the worst forms. They have been represented as narrow-minded bigots in their attachment to their own sentiments, and fierce persecutors in their indiscriminate hatred to all who differed in any measure from them. No candid person, acquainted with the character of the Puritans and with the times in which they lived, will hesitate to pronounce this representation false and slanderous. They were the pioneer reformers of the age in which they lived; and if they failed to carry out their principles consistently, they only fell, in these respects, into the opinions that reigned universally around them. Those who came after them, and took their principles for granted, were able, in the light of their experience, to see clearly the results to which those principles led. The fathers of New England effected a wider separation between the church and the state than had ever existed before—erected a wider platform of religious freedom than the laws of any other people allowed; and if they did not go to the full extent of what we now regard as just and expedient, we convict ourselves of bigotry, if we severely censure them.

When we consider the state of christendom at that time, and reflect at what cost they had planted themselves here to establish their own principles of church order, and how dangerous opposition and dissent were to their institutions in their feeble beginnings, we may well wonder that they practiced as much toleration as they did. The Rev. Mr. Albro, in his eloquent and ingenious "Discourse on the Fathers of New England," delivered December 22d, 1844, maintains that no instance of persecution, properly so called, can be justly imputed to them. Whether we are prepared to admit this or not, we shall be persuaded, upon investigation, that justice has not been done to either the principles or the conduct of our fathers in respect of toleration. We do not believe that they are justly chargeable with a persecuting, intolerant spirit; and we do not claim for them on the other hand, the merit of having discovered and carried out consistently, the principle of religious toleration. No one body of men are entitled to this praise; but we believe that among those who have contributed to this great result, no class of men bore a more honorable and efficient part than our fathers.

The following extracts from several election sermons, will exhibit the light in which this doctrine was held by the fathers. The first is from Mr. Shepard's sermon, from which I have made extracts in the Lecture; the second is from Rev. John Higginson's election sermon of 1663; and the last from Rev. W. Stoughton's, of 1668.

"Let the magistrate's coercive power in matters of religion be still asserted, seeing he is one who is bound to God, more than any other men, to cherish his true religion; and as the good kings of Judah, commended for it in Scripture, Asa, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, &c., therefore are they to be principal instruments in furthering the reformation aforesaid; and I would leave it with any godly, sober Christian to consider and answer, whether the interest of religion hath not as good a title and plea for the magistrate's protection, as [not any irreligion which self-conceit and humor hath wedded any unto, but] any worldly interest whatsoever? and how woful would the state of things soon be among us, if men might have liberty without control, to profess, or preach, or print, or publish what they list, tending to the seduction of others! and though the *enemy soweth tares*, which cannot be many times plucked up without danger to the wheat, and are therefore let alone, yet would I hope none of the Lord's husbandmen will be so foolish as to *sow tares*, or plead for the sowing of them; I mean in the way of the toleration aforesaid, when as it may be prevented, the light of nature and right reason would cry out against such a thing."¹

"The cause of God and his people among us is *not a toleration of all religions*, or of the *heresies and idolatries* of the age we live in. I say, not a toleration of these so far as we have liberty and power for to help it. How inconsistent would such a toleration be with the love of the one true religion revealed in the word of God? would not such a state be guilty of having *other gods*, where such a toleration is? is not

¹ Shepard's Election Sermon, p. 38.

the end of civil authority, that men may *live a quiet and peaceable life, in godliness as well as honesty*? but not in the ways of ungodliness, no more than in the ways of dishonesty; in a word, the gospel of Jesus Christ hath a *right paramount*, all rights in the world; it hath a *divine and supreme* right to be received in every nation, and the *knee of magistracy* is to bow at the name of *Jesus*. This right carries *liberty along with it*, for all such as profess the gospel, to walk according to the *faith and order of the gospel*. That which is contrary to the gospel, hath *no right*, and therefore should have *no liberty*. But the laws which have been made for the civil government here, with respect unto religion, whereby you have declared your *professed subjection to the gospel*, and your *non-toleration* of that which is *contrary thereunto*; this will be a name and a glory to New England *so long as the sun and moon endure*.¹

“*Circumstantial differences* ought not to breed *substantial divisions*; that would be a *monstrous and gigantine birth*. It is a wrong done to the Christian name, so much as to *question*, whether that diversity of apprehension in lesser and dubious matters amongst the Lord's people, ought to be borne withall, which can and doth suffer a regulation, in order to the unity and peace of the whole. But yet, the true Christian, gospel *liberty*, was never unto this day a womb big with *licentiousness*. And here there is one position, that methinks can never be denied by any that have but the common principles of reason entire; viz., ‘That no persuasion or practice can ever, in the conscience of the contrary-minded, have a good right to public liberty and countenance, which, being thoroughly attended to, doth indeed tend to the undermining, and so in the issue, to the overthrow of the state of these churches, in that wherein it is of God, and hath been largely and plentifully owned by him. And of this case, and the application thereof, those who are in authority may, and ought to judge. *And further*, who can therefore think it much, if such opinions (as are not only in themselves, but even in the minds of those who hold them, unchurching to so many precious societies of Christ, I mean as to their visible church state) be very harsh and unpleasant, and the uncontrolled scope of them much more distasteful? *Certainly*, a weaker body cannot, ought not to do that, or suffer that upon itself, or in itself, upon the account of charity to another, which a stronger body may, and in some cases may be bound to do or suffer.”²

¹ Rev. John Higginson's Election Sermon, May 27, 1663.

² Rev. W. Stoughton's Election Sermon, April 29, 1668.

NOTE 32, page 76.

EPITAPH OF THOMAS SHEPARD.

THE following Latin epitaph, Mather says, was engraved on Shepard's tomb-stone:

D. O. M. S.
 Repositæ sunt hîc Reliquiæ Thomæ Shepardi,
 Viri Sanctissimi,
 Eruditione, virtute, omnigenâ, moribusq. suavissimis ornatissimi;
 Theologi Consultissimi,
 Concionatoris Eximii:
 Qui Filius fuit Thomæ Shepardi Clarissimus,
 Memoratissimi Pastoris olim Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiensis;
 Et Ecclesiæ Caroliensis Presbyter docens;
 Fide ac vitâ verus Episcopus:
 Optimè de Re literariâ Meritus:
 Quâ Curator Collegii Harvardini vigilantissimus;
 Quâ Municipii Academici Socius Primarius.
Ta τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ τα αὐτοῦ Ζήτων.
 In D. Jesu placidè obdormivit, Anno 1677, Dec. 22.
Ætatis suæ 43.
 Totius Nov-angliæ Lachrymis Defectus;
 Usq; et Usq; Defendus.

NOTE 33, page 78.

OAKES'S ELEGY.

As a further testimonial of Mr. Shepard's worth of character, and Mr. Oakes's affection for his friend, I have transcribed a considerable part of the elegy written by Mr. Oakes, on occasion of his friend's death. "The elegy," says Dr. Holmes,¹ "rises, in my judgment, far above the poetry of his day. It is of Pindaric measure, and is plaintive, pathetic, and full of imagery."

"An elegy upon that reverend, learned, eminently pious, and singularly accomplished divine, my ever honored brother, Mr. Thomas Shepard, the late faithful and worthy teacher of the church of Christ, at Charlestown, in New England, who finished his course on earth, and went to receive his crown, December 22, 1677, in the forty-third year of his age.—In fifty-two stanzas.

I.

Oh! that I were a poet now in grain!
 How would I invoke the muses all
 To deign their presence, lend their flowing vein,
 And help to grace dear Shepard's funeral!
 How would I paint our griefs, and succors borrow
 From art and fancy, to linn out our sorrow!

¹ 1 Hist Coll. vii. 53.

XXII.

Art, Nature, Grace, in him were all combined
 To show the world a matchless Paragon,
 In whom of radiant virtues no less shined,
 Than a whole constellation; but he's gone!
 He's gone, alas! down in the dust must lie
 As much of this rare person as could die.

XXIII.

If to have solid judgment, pregnant parts,
 A piercing wit, and comprehensive brain—
 If to have gone the round of all the arts,
 Immunity from Death's arrest would gain,
 Shepard would have been death-proof and secure
 From that all-conquering hand, I'm very sure.

XXIV.

If holy life, and deeds of charity—
 If grace illustrious, and virtue tried—
 If modest carriage, rare humility,
 Could have bribed death, good Shepard had not died.
 Oh! but inexorable Death attacks
 The best men, and promiscuous havoc makes.

XXVI.

To be descended well, doth that commend?
 Can sons their father's glory call their own?
 Our Shepard justly might to this pretend,
 (His blessed Father was of high renown,
 Both Englands speak him great, admire his name,)
 But his own personal worth's a better claim.

XXVII.

Great was his Father, once a glorious light
 Among us, famous to a high degree—
 Great was this son: indeed, (to do him right,)
 As great and good (to say no more) as He.
 A double portion of his Father's spirit
 Did this (his eldest) son, through grace inherit.

XXVIII.

His look commanded reverence and awe,
 Though mild and amiable, not austere:
 Well humored was he as I ever saw,
 And ruled by love and wisdom, more than fear.
 The Muses and the Graces too, conspired
 To set forth this rare piece, to be admired.

XXIX.

He governed well the tongue, (that busy thing,
 Unruly, lawless, and pragmatical,)
 Gravely reserved, in speech not lavishing,
 Neither too sparing, nor too liberal.
 His words were few, well seasoned, wisely weighed,
 And in his tongue the law of kindness swayed.

XXX.

Learned he was beyond the common size,
 Befriended much by Nature in his Wit,
 And Temper, (sweet, sedate, ingenious, wise,)
 And (which crowned all) he was Heaven's Favorite,
 On whom the God of all grace did command,
 And shower down blessings with a liberal hand.

XXXI.

Wise he, not wily was; grave, not morose;
 Not stiff, but steady; serious, but not sour;
 Concerned for all, as if he had no foes;
 (Strange if he had!) and would not waste an hour.
 Thoughtful and active for the common good,
 And yet his own place wisely understood.

XXXII.

Nothing could make him stray from duty; death
 Was not so frightful to him, as omission
 Of ministerial work; he feared no breath
 Infectious, i' th' discharge of his commission.
 Rather than run from 's work, he chose to die,
 Boldly to run on death, than duty fly.

XXXIV.

Zealous in God's cause, but meek in his own;
 Modest of nature, bold as any lion,
 Where conscience was concerned; and there were none
 More constant mourners for afflicted Zion.
 So general was his care for th' churches all,
 His spirit seemed apostolical.

XXXV.

Large was his heart, to spend without regret—
 Rejoicing to do good; not like those moles,
 That root i' th' earth, or roam abroad, to get
 All for themselves (those sorry, narrow souls!)
 But he, like the sun, (i' th' centre as some say,)
 Diffused his rays of goodness every way.

XXXVI.

He breathed love, and pursued peace in his day,
 As if his soul were made of harmony;
 Scarce ever more of goodness' crowded lay
 In such a piece of frail mortality.
 Sure, father Wilson's genuine son was he—
 New England's Paul had such a Timothy.

XXXVII.

No slave to the world's grand idols—but he flew
 At fairer quarries, without stooping down
 To sublunary prey. His great soul knew
 Ambition none, but of the Heavenly Crown.
 Now he hath won it, and shall wear 't with honor,
 Adoring grace, and God in Christ, the Donor.

XXXVIII.

A friend to truth—a constant foe to error—
 Powerful i' th' pulpit, and sweet in converse;
 To weak ones, gentle—to the profane, a terror.
 Who can his virtues and good works rehearse?
 The Scripture Bishop's character read o'er,
 Say this was Shepard's—what need I say more?

XXXIX.

I say no more; let them that can declare
 His rich and rare endowments, paint this sun,
 With all his dazzling rays; but I despair,
 Hopeless by any hand to see it done.
 They that can Shepard's goodness well display,
 Must be as good as he—but who are they?

XL.

See where our Sister Charlestown, sits and moans!
 Poor widowed Charlestown! all in dust, in tears!
 Mark how she wrings her hands! hear how she groans!
 See how she weeps! What sorrow like to hers!
 Charlestown, that might for joy compare of late
 With all about her, now looks desolate.

XLI.

As you have seen some pale, wan, ghastly look,
 When grisly death, that will not be said nay,
 Hath seized all for itself, possession took,
 And turned the soul out of its house of clay:
 So visaged is poor Charlestown at this day—
 Shepard, her very soul, is torn away.

XLII.

Cambridge groans under this so heavy cross,
 And sympathizes with her sister dear—
 Renews her griefs afresh for her old loss
 Of her own Shepard, and drops many a tear.
 Cambridge and Charlestown now joint mourners are,
 And this tremendous loss between them share.

XLIII.

Must learning's friend (ah! worth us all) go thus?
 That great support to Harvard's Nursery!
 Our Fellow (that no fellow had with us)
 Is gone to Heaven's great University.
 Our's now indeed 's a lifeless corporation—
 The soul is fled that gave it animation!

LI.

Farewell, dear Shepard! thou art gone before,
 Made free of Heaven, where thou shalt sing loud hymns
 Of high triumphant praises evermore,
 In the sweet choir of Saints and Seraphims.
 Lord! look on us here, clogged with sin and clay;
 And we, through grace, shall be as happy as they.

LII.

My dearest, inmost bosom-friend is gone!
 Gone is my sweet companion, soul's delight!
 Now in a huddling crowd I'm all alone—
 Almost could bid all the world good-night.
 Blest be my Rock!—God lives—Oh! let Him be
 As He is all, so All in all to me!

The bereaved, sorrowful

URIAN OAKES."

NOTE 34, page 79.

LETTER OF HON. J. Q. ADAMS.

I AM permitted to make the following extract from a letter written by the Hon. J. Q. Adams to the Rev. G. W. Blagden, of the Old South Church:

"In 1682, Daniel Quincy was married to Anna Shepard, daughter of the second Thomas Shepard, and first of that name, minister of Charlestown. Of this marriage the issue were two children, Anne, born the 1st and baptized the 7th of June, 1685, and John, born the 21st and baptized the 28th of July, 1689, both at the South Church. This John Quincy, son of Daniel and Anna Quincy, was the person whose name I bear. He was the father of Elizabeth Smith, (wife of William Smith, minister of Weymouth,) my mother's mother. He was on his death-bed at the age of 77, when I was baptized; and it was at his daughter's request that his name was given to me. He had been an orphan almost from his birth. His father, Daniel Quincy, having died at the age of 40, about one year after his birth, in August, 1690. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1708, and within a year afterwards his grandmother, Mrs. Anna Shepard, died, and bequeathed to him a farm at Mount Wollaston, where he ever after resided and died."

The following interesting anecdote has been kindly copied for me, from the Common Place Book of Judge Sewall, by his descendant, Rev. Samuel Sewall of Burlington.

"Thursday, November 9, 1682. Cousin Daniel Quincy marries Mrs. Anna Shepard before John Hull, Esq. Samuel Nowell, Esq., and many persons present, almost Capt. Brattle's great hall full. Capt. B. and Mrs. Brattle there for two. Mr. Willard began with prayer—Mr. Thomas Shepard concluded. As he was praying, cousin Savage, mother Hull, wife and self came in. A good space after, when had eaten cake and drunk wine and beer plentifully, we were called into the great hall again to sing. In singing time, Mrs. Brattle goes out, being ill; most of the company go away, thinking it a qualm, or some fit; but she grows worse, speaks not a word, and so dies away in her chair, I holding her feet, for she had slipped down. At length, out of the kitchen we carry the chair, and her in it, into the wedding-hall, and after a while lay the corpse of the dead aunt in the bride's bed; so that now the strangeness and horror of the thing filled the (just now) joyous house with ejulation. The bridegroom and bride lie at Mr. Airs, (Eyes?) son-in-law to the deceased, going away like persons put to flight in battle."

NOTE 35, page 83.

LETTER TO THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

THE original letter missive from this church to the Old South, inviting their assistance at the ordination of Mr. Shepard, has been preserved among the Old South papers, and is as follows:

"Honored, reverend, and beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ:

"It having pleased God after his afflicting hand upon us, by the death of our faithful Shepard, and frustration of other endeavors for supply, to give us some revival, by raising up the son of our blessed

Shepard, whom, judging by the observation and experience we have had of him, not only to have drunk in the principles, but also to be very considerably endued with the amiable and Christian spirit of his father, we have unanimously called and prevailed with to undertake, with the help of God, the office of a pastor among us. In order to the execution of the office, we do, according to the custom of the churches in these parts, by these our letters entreat you to afford us the presence of your teaching officer, with such other messengers as shall seem good to you, upon May, the fifth next coming, at nine in the morning, to join with the elders and messengers of other churches we have sent unto, in the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Shepard, that so by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, he may be lawfully authorized to discharge the work of a pastor in this part of God's flock.

"So craving your prayers to the great Shepherd, for such an influence upon the labors of our Shepard as may cause an increase of his flock, and the spiritual growth of each member therein, we commend you also to the same God, and the word of his grace, and rest

"Your brethren and servants in Christ Jesus,

"Signed in the name, and by the order of the

"Church of Christ, in Charlestown,

LAWR. HAMMOND,
JOHN CUTLER,
JOSEPH LYNDE,
JOHN PHILLIPS,
THOMAS GREAVES.

"*Charlestown, April 4, 1680.*

"These for Mr. Samuel Willard, pastor of the South Church in Boston.

"To be communicated to your church."

"Rev. Thomas Shepard and Mrs. Mary Lynde, widow, were married before Mr. Samuel Nowell, assistant, July 27, 1682."¹

NOTE 36, page 94.

SHEPARD'S MANUSCRIPTS.

In the antiquarian library several manuscript sermon-books of Rev. Thomas Shepard the second, are preserved. One volume contains ten discourses on the cxx. Psalm, delivered on successive Sabbaths, from January 1, 1659-60 to March 4, 1659-60. Another contains twelve, on Psalm cxxvii. 3-5, and Psalm cxxviii., delivered at intervals, from November 22, 1663 to May 22, 1664. Another contains twelve sacramental discourses on Canticles, delivered every four weeks, from April 4, 1669 to March 6, 1669-70. Another contains eleven lectures on Matthew vii. 13, 14, delivered at intervals of two and four weeks,

¹ Town Records.

from May 15, 1668 to December 11, 1668. Another contains seven discourses on Fast and Thanksgiving occasions, begun August 28, 1663, and ended March 26, 1665. And still another volume of the same character, begun January 2, 1661-2, and concluding with a sermon delivered April 12, 1663, on the funeral of Mr. Jno. Norton, who died the Lord's day before April 5; Mr. Shepard also wrote an elegy on him, which is preserved in the New England Memorial. In the book, mentioned the last but one, at the end of the sermon on Psalm xlv. 4, delivered on the Fast day, November 16, 1664, is appended the following note: "The night after this fast was the blazing star first observed by some among us, which continued visible until February 4, next following, first barbatus and at last caudatus cometa."

It seems to have been Mr. Shepard's practice to conclude all his sermons with the Latin aspiration, "Tibi mi domine Jesu," sometimes varying the expression with different adjectives, as "charissime," "beatissime," "benedictissime."

NOTE 37, page 101.

HORSEY'S LETTER.

IN Prince's collection of papers in the Historical Society Library, is a letter from Henry Horsey to his brother, dated Newington Green, April 12, 1686, of which the following is an extract:

"We are now a parting with one of our best neighbors and friends, good *Mr. Charles Morton*, an eminent minister of the gospel, who, with his family, intends this month to embarque with Foy, in his ship for New England, which, as it is our loss, so we doubt not but will be that country's great gain; for he is a person of great learning, and piety, and moderation, and of an excellent sweet natural temper, of a loving and generous spirit, who will be well worth your acquaintance and friendship in anything you can serve him in, especially in that he goes over in prospect of; viz., to be president of your college at Cambridge, who is a most accomplished person for that work, and will quickly in his government and education therein, give a reputation to it, it having been his employment many years in this place, with great success and blessings to all sorts that have been under his government. But considering the acquaintance and knowledge *Mr. Stoughton* and *Mr. Dudley* have of him, and my *Father* also, the bearer of this, I might have spared the giving you the trouble of these much concerning him; yet the love I bear to him, could not but extort these from me. He carries with him besides his wife, a very fine man, his nephew, a very good and ingenious person, who is a doctor of physic, and is of his uncle's name, *Charles*—his brother being already in the college, who came with Jenner, last winter. Perhaps *Foy* may depart hence before *Clark*; and then you may both hear his character before this comes to your hand."

The following votes of the church, respecting the call and installation of Mr. Morton, are recorded on small pieces of paper, marked No. 25 and 26, in the sixth volume of the Mather manuscripts, belonging to the Old South Church, and deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

"October 24, 1686. At a meeting of the church, the church did unanimously vote that application should be made to the elders of the three churches of Boston, to desire their help and assistance in the management of that work of setting apart or instituting the Rev. Mr. Morton to be the pastor of this church, and to Mr. Mather, senior, to take upon him the work and place of a moderator for the day, and in particular, to give the said Rev. Mr. Morton his charge."

On another piece of paper, and in a very different handwriting,

"24 October, '86. The congregation here in Charlestown was stayed. It was then put to vote, if it be the mind of this congregation to desire the Rev. Mr. Morton to take upon him the work of the ministry in this place, and so to be your minister, your silence may manifest your consent herein. This vote passed without one objection. At the same time the members of the church were stayed—those in full communion; and it was put to vote, that if it be the mind of the brethren of this church to desire the Rev. Mr. Morton to take upon him the office of a pastor in this church, manifest it by the usual sign of lifting up your hands. This vote passed unanimously."

In still another handwriting,

"Also the Rev. Mr. Morton did manifest his readiness and willingness to comply with the church's desire and call of him."

NOTE 38, page 109.

MORTON'S PUBLICATIONS.

SEVERAL of Mr. Morton's works are preserved in the Antiquarian Library at Worcester, and some are also to be found in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. For the following list of his publications, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Sewall, who derived it from Eliot and Allen.

They were, 1. *The Little Peacemaker, on Proverbs xiii. 10.*—2. *Foolish Pride, the makebate, 1674.*—3. *Debts Discharged, Romans xiii. 8.*—4. *The Gaming Humor considered and reproved.*—5. *The way of good men for wise men to walk in.*—6. *Season Birds: an inquiry into the sense of Jeremiah viii. 7.*—7. *Meditations on the first fourteen chapters of Exodus, &c.*—8. *The Spirit of Man: meditations on 1 Thessalonians v. 23.*—9. *Of Common Places; or, Memorial Books.*—10. *A Discourse on Improving the County of Cornwall.*—11. *Considerations on the New River.*—12. *Letter to a Friend, to prove money not so necessary as imagined.*—13. *The Ark, its loss and recovery.*

I have met with several copies of his "Compendium Physicæ," a philosophical treatise, which his students copied.

He composed also a system of logic, which the students of the college were required to copy.

NOTE 39, page 112.

MODE OF CALLING AND SETTLING MINISTERS.

THE following paper, having reference to the delay of Mr. Bradstreet's ordination, was kindly copied and sent to me by the Rev. Dr. Jenks.

"To the honored James Russell, Esq., to be communicated to the bretheren of the Church of Charltowne.

"Honored and Beloved Bretheren :

"Grace and peace be multiplyed unto you. We, observing that the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet intended to be carried on at Charltowne, to have been laid aside by an unexpected obstruction put thereunto, occasioned either upon the misunderstanding of some matters between the persons concerned therein, or the suggestion of some non-cogent reasons, or some misapplied Texts and instances of Scripture, (which might easily admitt of an answer as we apprehend,) to the great dissatisfaction of severall persons, upon all which, and severall other considerations that might be added, have thought good to advise and persuade you, the Bretheren of the church of Christ at Charltowne, upon a review of the things that occasioned the obstruction that you proceed to the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet, upon such Terms as he lately declared and yielded unto; and that you be ready willingly to embrace him, not only as a member of your Ecclesiasticall Society, but as an officer whom you have already chosen to the Pastorall office among you, he being orderly dismissed or Recomendend from the Church of Christ in Andover into which, as we understand, he was some years since formally admitted; and that you quietly and freely submit to his administration of his office amongst you, according to the Rules of Gospell; desiring also, that all former errorrs and mistakes on all sides be forgiven, laid aside and forgotten, and that there may be an endeavor on all hands, to walk together in love, purity and peace, that thereby you may obtain the God of Love and peace to be with you as he hath promised, which is the True desire of

"Yours in the Gospell of Christ." ¹

(No signatures are given, and no date.)

I am not entirely satisfied with the explanation given pp. 111, 112, and am disposed to think that there was some ground for the censure

¹ From the "Wylls papers," belonging to Ashur Adams, Esq.

cast upon our church by the Boston churches. The following extracts from the town records, will exhibit the method pursued in the calling and settling of ministers.

" March 12, 1696-7. James Russell, Esq., moderator. Mr. Simon Bradstreet was chosen an assistant to Rev. Charles Morton in the ministry. £80 salary voted.

" June 20, 1697. Mr. Bradstreet answered that he could not come for a month or six weeks, and then would, and in the meantime preach or provide help.

" May 13, 1698. Worshipful James Russell communicated to the town the fact of the choice by the church of Mr. Simon Bradstreet for pastor, and asked the concurrence of the town. Voted in the affirmative by the general lifting up of the hands. £100 salary voted.

" July 12, 1698. Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet met with the selectmen and declared his acceptance of 'the call of the church and town, and did promise to carry on the whole work of the ministry among us. And then by the selectmen ordered that Deacon Kettle pay him out of the contribution money the proportionable sum every week, after the rate of £100 per annum, according to vote of inhabitants, May 13, 1698.'

" May 21, 1712. Voted by the town, 'that they would have another settled minister in the town.' 'The selectmen were appointed and desired to inform Mr. Bradstreet of the vote, and ask his concurrence, and make return the next general meeting, the last Monday in June next.'

" June 16, 1712. Mr. Bradstreet answered, provided the person was agreeable to the town, and also one that was agreeable to him, he did believe it would be an advantage both to the town and to himself.

" June 30, 1712. Voted that a committee be appointed to discourse with Mr. Bradstreet, and acquaint him that the town has impowered them to desire him to acquaint the church of their intention to chose another settled minister, and prays their assistance and direction therein.

" July 21, 1712. At a legal and general meeting of the inhabitants of Charlestown, Colonel Joseph Lynde was chosen moderator. Then the answer of the church to the town, concerning the getting another settled minister, was publicly read, which was as followeth :

" At a meeting of the church of Christ in Charlestown, July 18, 1712. The church having been acquainted with and considered of the town's desire of their direction and assistance in the choice of a person to be settled amongst them in the work of the ministry. It was declared and voted, that as the church doth approve of and concur with the desire of the town, to have another settled minister, so they would desire the town to join with them in an humble and hearty seeking unto God through Jesus Christ, by fasting and prayer for his gracious presence, conduct and blessing to guide and prosper them in such a weighty and important undertaking. The time intended and voted for the aforesaid fasting and prayer, is to be (God willing) the second Wednesday in August next.

" Attest, SIMON BRADSTREET, *Pastor.*

" A true copy of the church's return.

" Attest, NATHANIEL DOWS, *Town Clerk.*"

"The town voted their concurrence with the church's answer.

"At a meeting of the selectmen, September 15, 1712.

"At a meeting of the church of Christ, in Charlestown, September 2, 1712. The church being convened to nominate three suitable persons to present to the town with whom they are willing (and have concluded) to join in choosing one out of the said number to be settled amongst us in the work of the Evangelical ministry. They did nominate and appoint then three following; viz., the Rev. Mr. Joseph Stevens, Rev. Mr. John Webb, and the Rev. Mr. John Tufts. Mr. Stevens had 23 votes, Mr. Webb had 20, and Mr. Tufts 22.

"Attest, SIMON BRADSTREET, *Pastor.*"

"Memorandum. The pastor of the church did not see cause to act in, but did suspend his concurrence with respect to the nomination of the Rev. Mr. John Webb. A true copy.

"Attest, NATHANIEL DOWS, *Town Clerk.*"

"A meeting of the inhabitants met in the meeting-house, September 22, 1712, 10 o'clock A. M., and made choice of Rev. Joseph Stevens, who had 104 votes, Mr. Webb 47, Mr. Tufts 8."

NOTE 40, page 113.

MORTON'S LATIN EPITAPH.

THE following epitaph was written by Rev. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. Morton's successor.¹

Sacrae et sempiternae Memoriae
Revd. plurimum et clarissimi viri

DOM. CAROLI MORTONI,

Ecclesiae Charlestoniensis Pastoris instructissimi :
Nec non Collegii Harvardini Vice Praesid. primi,
aeque ac insigniter in omni Literarum genere versatil.
viri deniq;

tum in Anglia (ubi aatus fuit et maximè floruit)
tum in Nov-Anglia (ubi senilis obiit)
per multis nominibus celebrandi.

Qui vita hâc serumnosâ probè defunctus,
April. die XI. Anno D. MDCCXVIII.
aetatis suae LXXII.

Ex parte sui Immortali ac nobilissimâ in Caelis triumphat :
Ex alterâ verò, corruptibili scilicet, in hoc Monumento paulisper quiescit ;
Expectans dum vocem audierit Filii Dei,
quâ revocatus a morte in vitam verè vitalem,
quàm gloriosus in eternum regnabit !

EPITAPHIUM.

Inelyta *Mortonus* musarum gloria quondam
Et sacer Eterni Regis Legatus Jesu
Post varios casus, post funera multa suorum
Sic cadit in cineres resolutus ab hoste supremo,
Ut Domini virtute sui victrix resurgens
Gaudeat aeternis, absorptâ morte, triumphis.²

¹ 1 Hist. Coll. viii. 75.

² 1 Mass. H. S. Coll. viii. 76.

NOTE 41, page 116.

CHARLESTOWN LECTURE.

FROM Judge Sewall's manuscript journal, we learn that in Mr. Morton's day, and probably before, there was a stated lecture held at Charlestown. This lecture, like the Boston fifth-day or Thursday lecture, was originally designed for the exposition of Scripture; it was held once a month, on Friday. It was continued by Mr. Bradstreet, and was preached alternately by himself and Mr. Stevens, his colleague. In Mr. Abbot's time, it seems to have been converted into a lecture preparatory to the Lord's supper, such as is now common.

There is a manuscript volume in the possession of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, containing a series of lectures on Matthew vii. 13, 14, delivered in Charlestown, by the second Thomas Shepard, 1668, and written out fairly with his own hand. The dates of the lectures, respectively, are May 15, June 12, July 10, August 7, September 4, October 2, October 16, October 30, November 13, November 27, December 11.

It will be seen that the lectures, down to October 2, were given every four weeks; and all these were upon Matthew vii. 13. The remainder were given every two weeks; and these were upon Matthew vii. 14.

It would seem probable, therefore, that the lecture was held once a fortnight, and that Mr. Symmes and Shepard alternated.

The following notices of the Charlestown Lecture in Judge Sewall's journal, will be read with interest.

"1687, May 27. Went to Charlestown Lecture, and heard Mr. Morton from these words: 'Love is a fruit of the Spirit.' Mr. Danforth sat in the Deacon's seat." "1687, August 19. Mr. Morton's text, out of the fruits of the Spirit, falls in course to be PEACE, indeed very seasonably, as to the exercise that town is under respecting their common, part of which was laid out and bounded to particular persons." "1688, May 11. Go to Charlestown Lecture." "1688, Friday, June 8. Sir William at Charlestown Lecture." "1688, September 28. I go to Charlestown Lecture. Mr. Lee preaches from Matthew xxv. 6. After lecture, dined at Mr. Russell's." "1691, Friday, October 9. Mr. Baily preaches the lecture at Charlestown. After lecture, Mr. Morton dines in his new house, one room being closed. Were at table, Mr. Morton and Mrs., my Lady Phips, Mr. Moody and Mrs., Mr. Allen, Mr. Baily, little John Baily." "1715-16, January 13. I go to Charlestown Lecture. Mr. Bradstreet preached excellently from Lam. iii. 25. Madam Bradstreet was at meeting." "1716, September 21. Go to Charlestown Lecture, which is the first in their new meeting-house. Mr. Stevens preaches from Psalm lxxiv. 4: 'Blessed are they that dwell in thy house.' Made a very good discourse, worthy to be printed. Two first staves lxx. Ps. sung L. Dined with Col. Phillips." "1717, August 23. Went to Charlestown Lecture. Mr. Stevens gave us a very good discourse from Revelation xiv. 13," &c. "1717, September 20. Went to Charlestown Lecture, where Mr. Bradstreet preached from Psalm cxliii. 10: 'Teach me to

do thy will.' Dined with Mr. Graves." "1718, October 17. Go to Charlestown Lecture. Mr. Bradstreet preached from Hebrews xiii. 14. Mentioned the sudden deaths several times. Have been four of late; viz., Plummer, Mico, Sheaf the ferryman," &c. "1720-21, February 3, Friday. Mr. Bradstreet preaches the lecture from Job xiv. 14: 'I will wait.' The Governor and Col. Dudley (William) dine with the Court, but were not at lecture." Anciently the Superior Court was held at Charlestown and Cambridge alternately, and the above is an instance in which the judges seemed to have adjourned court to attend lecture, as they were accustomed to do when lecture fell in court time.¹

NOTE 42, page 124.

STEVENS'S PRIVATE RECORDS.

THIS volume, which belonged originally to Mr. Stevens and afterwards to Mr. Abbot, contains the following records in the handwriting of Mr. Stevens.

"The new meeting-house at Charlestown was raised the 20th day of June, A. D. 1716. We met in it August 5, 1716.

"Joseph Stevens, son of Joseph and Mary Stevens, was born at Andover, June 20, 1682.

"Sarah Linde, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Linde, was born at Charlestown, February 23, 1693-4.

"September 16, 1705. I preached my first sermon at Marblehead, on Matthew xvi. 26, I being then twenty-three years, two months and twenty-seven days old.

"I was chosen a fellow of Harvard College December 24, 1711.

"I was ordained at Charlestown, October 13, 1713, by the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather; had the right hand of fellowship by his son, Dr. C. Mather. I preached from Daniel xii. 3.

"Joseph Stevens and Sarah Linde were married July 15,² 1714, by the Rev. Mr. Bradstreet.

"Sarah Stevens was born May 5, 1715, and baptized by myself the 8th.

"Sarah Stevens died August 20, 1716.

"Sarah Stevens the second, was born February 18, 1716-17, and baptized by Rev. Mr. Bradstreet, the 24th.

"Joseph Stevens was born June 30, 1719, and baptized by myself, July 5th.

"Benjamin Stevens was born May 4, 1721, and baptized by Mr. Bradstreet, 7th."

¹ For a full and interesting account of the origin and nature of these ancient lectures, see Rev. Mr. Sewall's Notes, American Quarterly Register, volume xiii. p. 51.

² The Town Records say July 14.

This book also contains a record of marriages solemnized by him from September 28, 1714, to August 11, 1721; and also a list of the children he had baptized from 1713 to 1721.

NOTE 43, page 125.

SETTLEMENT OF MR. PRENTICE.

THE following account of the proceedings of the church in reference to the settlement of Mr. Prentice, was written by Mr. Abbot, in the manuscript volume just alluded to.

MEMORANDUM.

"At a Church Meeting at Charlestown, 21 May, 1739.

"After the meeting was opened with solemn and earnest prayer to God, for his Presence and Direction, the church came into the following votes:

"First. They voted a Concurrence with the Town, in the vote they had passed at a general Town meeting, on the 14th of May, wherein they declared Their Inclination and Desire to have another Settled Pastor, to take part of the Ministry with me. [N. B.—There were about 31 that voted for it, and about 20 that appeared against it, besides some that were Neuters, especially the Two Deacons, who did not act in the affair.]

"Secondly. They voted (agreeable to the Custom of the Churches in This Land, and of This Church in particular, in such affairs) to set apart a Day for Solemn prayer with Fasting, to implore the presence of the Glorious Head of the Church with Them, and that they might be both directed and prospered in so weighty and Important an undertaking, as That of the Settlement of a Pastor is to God's glory and our Edification. And accordingly, They agreed to set apart Wednesday, the *Sixth of June*, for the observation of the Fast.

"Thirdly. They voted to Desire the Town to join with Them in the Solemnities of the Fast, which They Judged the First step proper to be taken in an affair of This Nature and Importance, that relates to the Kingdom and Interest of Christ in the World.

"Fourthly. The Church having desired that the Elders &c. that come to assist us on the Fast, might meet at My House, did vote that The Deacons should supply us with what was Needful for their Entertainment on That Occasion.

"Then I dismissed the Church with the Apostolical Benediction."

"June 6. We observed the Private Fast as was proposed by the Church, 21 May. Dr. Sewall opened the Solemnity in the morning by prayer; Mr. Cooper preached, xvi. John, 23, 4. Mr. Welsted closed the Forenoon exercise with prayer.

"Mr. Grey began with prayer in the Afternoon. I preached lxviii. Psalm, 18: '*Thou hast received gifts for men;*' and Mr. Byles prayed

after Sermon. And after we had sang the Hymn in which was the text, Dr. Sewall dismissed the Congregation with the Blessing."

"At a Church meeting at Charlestown, 13 June, 1739.

"After Solemn prayers and Supplications to the Glorious Head of the Church for his Presence and Direction, &c., The Church came into the following votes:

"First. They voted That They would, (God willing,) with All Convenient Speed, proceed to the Invitation and Settlement of another Pastor over Them, and take the usual and Regular steps for that End and purpose.

"Secondly. They voted to have but one Person in Nomination as a Candidate in order to a settlement.

"Thirdly. Mr. Thomas Prentice was the person only Nominated.

"Fourthly. They voted to desire the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prentice to preach with Them for Two Sabbaths next Ensuing, as a Candidate, in order to a Settlement in the Gospel Ministry among Them.

"Fifthly. Voted that Major Jenner, Joseph Lemmon, Esq., and Mr. Seth Sweetser, be a Committee to acquaint the Rev. Mr. Prentice with the Church's Vote, and to Invite Him to preach with us in order to a Settlement.

"Sixthly. Voted also that the Honorable Committee desire of Mr. Prentice some account of the Grounds and Manner of his Remove from His People, and make Report to the Church upon the Adjournment of This Meeting for Their Satisfaction in that matter.

"Seventhly. Voted that the Committee aforesaid, be desired to acquaint the Selectmen with the Church's vote relating to the Settlement of another Minister, and desire them forthwith to Issue out a warrant to assemble the Town together, to Join with the Church in the choice of another Pastor to take part of the Ministry with the Rev. Mr. Abbot.

"Eighthly. Voted that the Deacons render an account to the Church at the Adjournment of This Meeting, of what stock there is in the Church Treasury under Their care.

"Ninthly. Voted that the Church meeting be adjourned to the Day of the Town Meeting aforesaid, and that the Church assemble together at the ringing of the First Bell for the Meeting.

"Then I dismissed the Church with the Apostolical Benediction."

"At a Church Meeting at Charlestown, (met by adjournment,) 2 July, 1739.

"After the meeting was opened with prayer, the Church came into the several following votes:

"First. They voted an Acceptance of the Report of the Committee, relating to the Grounds and Manner of Mr. Prentice His removal from his people at Arundel, (whom They chose to make Inquiry into It,) and declared that They were satisfied as to the manner of it, &c. N. B.—The Report in writing is Lodged with me!

"Secondly. They accepted The Report made by the Deacons, concerning the Church Stock, which They declared amounted to the sum of 136. 11. 3., and that This included in It not only the Surplusage of the Collections made by the Church; but also, and chiefly, what

They had received for the Rents of the Church's pastures, and the Letting of the Funeral Pall, &c.

"Thirdly. They voted That some of the Church's Monies should be devoted to pious and Charitable uses.

"Fourthly. They particularly voted that the sum of £10 should be distributed by Myself and the Deacons, to proper objects of Christian Charity, especially to such as belonged to the Church.

"Fifthly. They voted that the Deacons should have the Improvement of the Church's Pasture, by Mr. Hutchinson's, for Their Trouble in the management of the Secular affairs of the Church, till further order from the Church. N. B.—The Deacons were Samuel Frothingham and Jonathan Kettell.

"Then I dismissed the meeting with a Benediction. From thence we went to Join with the Town in the choice of another Pastor, when Mr. Prentice was chosen."

"At a Church Meeting at Charlestown, 28th August, 1739.

"After Solemn Prayers were made to the Glorious Head of the Church, the Church came into the following votes :

"First. They voted (God willing) that they would proceed to the Installation of Mr. Prentice, who had accepted Their call to office, with all Convenient Speed.

"Secondly. They voted the first Wednesday in October Next, (which is the 3d of the month,) to be the Day for That Solemnity.

"Thirdly. They voted to Desire five Churches with their Pastors and Delegates, to assist in Council upon that Occasion.

"Fourthly. The Churches Nominated and Determined, were Those of whom Dr. Colman, &c., Dr. Sewall, &c., Mr. Welsted, &c., at Boston, were Pastors; and the Church of Cambridge, and the Church at Medford. N. B.—[Upon a motion made in Mr. Prentice's behalf, that He might be excused from preaching on the Day of his Installment; the Church were not disposed in General to give up the Custom that They had been in, of the Pastor's preaching Himself at such a Time; and therefore desired that he would then preach.]

"Fifthly. Voted That there should be a Public Collection to defray the charges of the Day aforesaid.

"Sixthly. Voted to have the Entertainment at the House in which Mr. Prentice is to Live, it being large and Convenient for that Purpose; and that The Ordination Council be invited to Meet There on the Morning of the Installment.

"Seventhly. Voted that the Committee for providing Mr. Prentice's house, viz., Mr. Russell, Jenner, Cary and Foye, be a Committee to provide for the Entertainment; and that there be Joined to them, Capt. Cheever, Foster, Mr. Trumbal, and the Two Deacons, for that purpose. Upon a motion I made, the Church desired I would frame and send forth in due Time, Circular Letters to the Churches afore-mentioned, in their name and behalf to Invite them to Join in such an act of Communion as that of an ordination or Installment of a Pastor is.

"Then I dismissed the meeting with a Benediction."

"At a Church Meeting at Charlestown, 24 September, 1739, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

" After prayers were offered up to the Great Head of the Church.

" 1. The Church voted their acceptance of the Form of the Letter that I drew up to send to the Churches They had before voted to Invite to Join in Council for the purpose of Mr. Prentice's Instalment, and desired that I would subscribe and send the Letters to them in their name.

" 2. They voted to Desire the Rev. Dr. Coleman to give the Sacred Charge to Mr. Prentice, at his Instalment; and in Case He should refuse, or were detained by Illness, that the Rev. Dr. Sewall be desired to take that part upon Him.

" 3. They voted Mr. Prentice his admission into our Church fellowship and Communion.

" 4. They voted that what be wanting more than was gathered by the Town for that purpose, be taken out of the Church Stock for to Defray the Charges of the Public Entertainment, on the Day of Mr. Prentice's Instalment.

" Then I dismissed the meeting with a Benediction."

NOTE 44, page 128.

THE EARTHQUAKE.

THE following notice of this earthquake is taken from the manuscript diary of Mr. Thomas Abbot, of Boston—the brother of Rev. Hull Abbot—which is now owned by Mr. Benjamin Edmands.

" October 29, 1727. This night, betwixt 10 and 11 o'clock, there was in this place and many miles distant, a terrible Earthquake, in which the earth and the inhabitants thereof trembled much; but through the goodness of God, who, in judgment did remember mercy, we dont hear of any hurt done, or that so much as one person lost his life. There were several shocks at some hours' distant from one another, but the first exceeded the rest. On the day following, many people being assembled at the Old North Church, there were about three hours, from 11 to 2 o'clock, spent in prayers and in preaching; and at 5 o'clock, the people assembled at the Old Brick and Old South Churches, and spent between three and four hours more in holy exercises as in the morning, crying mightily to the God of all grace, that he would sanctify his awful providence to this whole people, and that he would pardon these great and crying sins that were the procuring cause of his judgments; and that he would not enter judgment with us, but spare us according to the greatness of his mercy in Christ. The Lord hear all the prayers that have been and are going up, and give a gracious answer of peace, and prepare this, his people in this town, for the day of solemn fasting and prayer, on Thursday approaching, that it may be such a fast as he has chosen.

" The earth was felt to shake for seven or eight months after in some places, and the roarings thereof ever now and then heard. But through God's goodness we are spared still."

NOTE 45, page 137.

ABBOT'S FAMILY.

From the manuscript volume to which I have alluded, I extract the following memoranda, in the handwriting of Mr. Abbot.

"Moses Abbot and Rebecca Knight were married 11 September, 1701. He was lost at sea February, 1717-18.

"Hull Abbot was born on Monday, 15 June, 1702." He was the eldest of eight children, four of whom died in infancy. The births of the other three are given as follows: Elizabeth, born 10 March, 1706; Moses, August 3, 1711; Richard, May 29, 1715.

"Elizabeth died July 13, 1738, at Princeton, and was buried at Charlestown, in the tomb with her husband, 15th instant. Moses died May 1st, 1734; Richard died July 6, 1754, N. S.

"Memorandum. October 3, 1741. My dear mother died about 8 o'clock in the evening, after about a twelvemonth's visitation with a cancer in her breast; very much distressed with pains about six months of the time; and I doubt not, died in the Lord, and slept in Jesus. Lord, let me die the death of the righteous!

"Mary Bradstreet, daughter to the Rev. Mr. Simon and Mary Bradstreet, was born at Charlestown, September 9, 1703, being Thursday.

"Hull Abbot and Mary Bradstreet were married July 27, 1731, (being Tuesday,) by her father, Rev. Simon Bradstreet. She died May 10, about midnight, 1763, after long confinement and great weakness." They had seven children, three of whom died in infancy. The record of the rest is as follows:

"3. Mary Abbot was born Thursday, November 7, 1734, being a day of Public Thanksgiving. I baptized her in my arms, on the 10th day of second month.

"4. Moses, born Friday, April 14, 1738. I baptized him in my arms, on the following Sabbath, April 16th.

"5. Rebecca, born Thursday, April 19, 1739. I baptized her in my arms, on the Sabbath following, April 22. She died November 27, 1756.

"7. Thomas, born Thursday, May 2, 1745. He was baptized by Mr. Prentice, May 5, 1745."

The following records are written in another hand.

"Thomas, son of Hull and Mary Abbot, born May 2, 1745.

"Hannah Hesilrige, daughter of Sir Robert and Sarah Hesilrige, was born August 20, 1757.

"Thomas Abbot and Hannah Hesilrige were married July 18, 1776. Mr. Gordon made the first prayer, and performed the marriage. Mr. Jackson, of Brookline, concluded with prayer.

"David Henley was born February 12, 1749.

"Sarah Hesilrige was born March 26, 1759.

"David Henley and Sarah Hesilrige were married by Mr. Parker, Episcopalian, Boston, March 21, 1782.

"Arthur Hesilrige Henley was born November 13, 1782, and christened by Mr. Parker. Sponsors, D. Hubbard, A. Babcock and wife.

"David Henley was born March 23, 1784. He was christened privately, by Mr. Parker, being dangerously sick.

"Sarah Henley died June 10, 1786.

"Hannah Abbot died May 3, 1789.

"Rev. Thomas Abbot died November 1, 1789, aged forty-five."

NOTE 46, page 137.

ABBOT'S PUBLICATIONS.

BESIDES the discourse quoted in the lecture, I found another in the Antiquarian Library, at Worcester, with the following title:

"The duty of God's People to pray for the peace of Jerusalem, and especially for the preservation and continuance of their own Privileges, both Civil and Religious, when in danger at Home or from Abroad. A Sermon on occasion of the Rebellion in Scotland, raised in favor of a Popish Pretender, with design to overthrow our present Happy Establishment, and to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power into our Nations, from which, by a series of Wonders, in the Good Providence of God, they have been often delivered. Preached at Charlestown, in New England, January 12, 1745-6, by Hull Abbot, A. M., A Pastor of the church there: Isaiah lxii. 1; Psalm lxxii. 15; James v. 16. The Queen Mother of Scotland was heard to say, That she more feared the fasting and prayers of John Knox and his disciples, than an army of thirty thousand men. Spec. Vel. Sacri. Boston: printed and sold by Rogers and Fowle, in Queen-street, 1746."

He also published a sermon against profane cursing and swearing, 1747, which I have not seen.

NOTE 47, page 142.

REV. THOMAS PRENTICE.

An excellent portrait of this gentleman, in an admirable state of preservation, is in possession of Mrs. Amasa Stetson, of Dorchester, who is a grand-daughter of Mr. Prentice. It was painted in 1755, by Mr. Badger, of Boston.

To John Kettell, Esq., of Dorchester, a grand-son of Mr. Prentice, I am indebted for the following particulars.

He was born in Cambridge, 1702, of pious and respectable parents, and graduated at Harvard College, 1726. In 1728, he was ordained and settled in Arundel, District of Maine, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. Soon after his settlement, he married Irene Emery, daughter of Rev. Mr. Emery, of Wells, by whom he had seven daughters and one son; four of the daughters and the son died early.

In 1737, the Indian War commenced, and the church was dispersed ; in consequence of which, Mr. Prentice returned to his native place with his wife and three children, where he soon received three invitations for settlement, from the New North Church, Boston, from West Cambridge, and from Charlestown; the latter of which he accepted, and the same day declined the other two. His wife died 1745, leaving three daughters, Irene, Mary, and Margaret. In October, 1746, he married Rebecca Austin, daughter of Nathaniel and Rebecca Austin, of Charlestown, by whom he had one daughter, Rebecca, who married Joseph Kettell, of Boston. His second wife died October, 1748, aged thirty-three years. In 1750, he married widow Mary Butman, of Old York, by whom he had no children, and who survived him, and returned to York after his death. After the burning of the town, he repaired to Cambridge, and lived the remainder of his life in the house in which he was born, which was then owned by him.

His daughter Mary, married Dr. Frost, of Cambridge, 1762, with whom she lived two years ; and after his death, she married Nehemiah Rand, Esq., of Charlestown, 1766, and fled with her husband, during the war, to Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, where they lived until their death.

Mr. Prentice published several discourses, four of which I have seen, and possibly there are others.

The first was a sermon preached July 18, 1745, on a General Thanksgiving, for the reduction of Cape Breton.

The second, a sermon preached January 28, 1747-8, on a Public Fast, after the destruction of the Province Court House by fire.

The third, a sermon preached at the Thursday Lecture, in Boston, January 1, 1756, on occasion of the Earthquake, November 18, preceding.

The fourth was a sermon on the death of Mrs. Anna Cary, wife of Mr. Richard Cary, and eldest daughter of Richard Bradley, Esq., Attorney General of New York, preached the Sabbath after her death, March 2, 1755. This lady was remarkable for her piety and general excellence. I have now lying before me a copy of "some of Mrs. Cary's sayings a few days before her death." They appear to have attracted considerable attention, and been treasured up through veneration for the author's piety. This copy has been preserved by an aged member of the church.

NOTE 48, page 142.

MEETING-HOUSE HILL.

THE meeting-house, which was destroyed when the town was burnt, was situated on the northwest side of the square. When the town was rebuilt, it was felt to be desirable that the square should be kept open and unobstructed by buildings of any sort ; and accordingly a new site was appropriated for the meeting-house in lieu of the old one.

The following vote was passed by the town, October 27, 1762 :

"Whereas, by the destruction of a great part of this town in the year 1775, the inhabitants of the first parish were very great sufferers, and the house for public worship in said parish, as well as the dwellings of said inhabitants, were destroyed by fire, and as the affections of kindness and brotherly love are among the brightest ornaments of human nature, and as it is in the power of the town, without any injury to the general interests thereof, to furnish said parish with a place on which to erect a building for the public worship of God—Therefore, this town, acting on the principles and reasons above-mentioned, *do hereby vote* to grant, and do grant, convey, and relinquish to the first parish in this town, that piece of land commonly called Town-House Hill, for the sole purpose of erecting thereon a house for the public worship of God, provided said parish building be erected thereon within the space of five years, otherwise this grant to be void."

Within a year from the passage of this vote, the meeting-house was erected; and the right thus acquired by the parish to the hill, was conceded and carefully respected by the town. In the year 1800, when the town were about building the present Harvard school-house, "for the accommodation of the schools, town meetings, and other public business," the parish committee were requested to call a parish meeting, "to know of the parish whether they will give the town a spot to erect a school-house upon, in front of the old one." The meeting was held accordingly, and it was voted, "That the parish will relinquish to the town all the right they may hold in the land front of the school-house, sufficient for the erection of a school-house and town hall, reserving not less than sixty-five feet on a parallel line north of the meeting-house." The well between the school-house and meeting-house (in which the pump now stands) was dug a few years subsequent to the erection of the school-house, when the parish consented to have it done, as it was for the public good.

NOTE 49, page 143.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE MEETING-HOUSE.

In the year 1803, the population of the town having increased so much as to require a larger house of worship, the parish decided to enlarge the meeting-house. They at first determined to make a circular alteration on the north and south sides, so as to make an addition of about twenty feet on each side. This design was subsequently relinquished, and a plan adopted for enlarging the house by adding fifteen feet to each side. The dimensions of the house, as thus enlarged, were 84 feet wide by 74 long.

The tower and steeple were also at this time repaired and painted; the tower was seventy-two feet high, and the height of the steeple, to the top of the ball, was one hundred and sixty-two feet from the ground. Aaron Putnam, Esq., Zabdiel B. Adams, Esq., and Mr. Amariah Childs, were the committee appointed to superintend the work.

"The names of the present proprietors (and where they are not known, the present occupiers) of the pews, with the number annexed

to their respective names, of the pews assigned them, after the alterations and enlargements of the meeting-house are completed agreeably to the plan—the other pews the property of the subscribers who are to complete the alterations. May 3, 1804.

PEWS BELOW.

	No.		No.
Samuel Bradstreet,	1	Cotton Center,	64
Thomas Harris,	2	Samuel Swan, Jr.,	65
Samuel Swan, Jr.,	3	Matthew Bridge,	66
John Larkin,	4	Larkin & Goodwin,	67
Phillips, Payson, & Samuel Soley,	5	Isaac Mallett's est.,	68
Artemas Ward,	6	John Austin,	69
John Harris,	7	Perkins Nichols,	70
Nathan Tufts,	8	John Pratt,	71
Est. of David Devens,	9	Josiah Barker,	72
Poor's pew,	17	Richard Frothingham,	73
Bartlett & Payson,	26	Benjamin Frothingham,	74
Francis Hyde,	27	Ammi R. Tufts,	75
Daniel Tufts,	28	Timothy Thompson,	76
Thomas Osgood,	29	Eliphalet Newell,	83
John Edmands,	30	William Wiley,	78
Widow Barker,	31	Peter Edes,	79
Edmands & Fosdick,	32	Poor's pew,	84
Poor's pew,	33	Rayner and Frothingham,	85
Jonathan Kettell,	38	Est. of Samuel Conant,	86
Widow Larkin,	39	Nathaniel Austin,	87
Josiah Bartlett,	45	Mercy Farnsworth,	88
Ebenezer Breed,	41	Thomas W. Pratt,	89
Frothingham & Goodwin,	42	William Goodwin,	90
David Wood,	43	James Frothingham, Jr.,	91
Minister's pew,	44	Poor's pew,	100
Thomas Brooks,	48	Holmes & Pratt,	108
Thomas Hooper,	49	Timothy Walker,	109
Aaron Putnam,	36	Samuel Cary, &c.,	110
Carleton & Stetson,	51	George Bartlett, &c.,	111
Benjamin Hurd,	52	Widow Henley,	112
Richard Devens,	53	Joseph Hurd,	113
Benjamin Mirick,	54	Est. of John Stanton,	114
Amos Tufts,	55	Est. of James Russell,	115
Andrew Kettell,	62	Giles Alexander,	116
Richard Boylston,	63		

PEWS IN THE GALLERY.

	No.		No.
Joseph Parker,	117	Aaron Putnam,	136
Jabez Stevens,	118	Joseph Sweetser,	137
Jonathan Lock,	119	James Call,	138
Joseph Brown,	120	John Larkin,	139
Nehemiah Wyman,	121	John Harris,	140
William Newhall,	122	Matthew Bridge,	141
John Edmunds,	123	Thomas C. Hayward,	142
John Runey,	124	William Leathers,	143
William Wiley,	125	David Edmands,	144
Benjamin Hurd,	126	Manning & Mansir,	145
Benjamin Hurd,	131	Nicholas Brown,	158
Parish,	132	Isaac Pratt,	159
Joseph Hurd,	133	Joshua Hooper,	160
Mrs. Wallace,	134	Josiah Harris,	161
Samuel Jaques,	135	Parish pew,	162

In 1794, a subscription of \$744 was raised for the purchase of an organ, which was accepted by the parish, and used in public worship until the present meeting-house was built.

In 1809, a "chapel" was erected in the garden of the parsonage, "twenty-six feet by twenty-one, and ten and a half feet in the clear;" and the expense defrayed by a subscription on the part of the members of the church, amounting to \$411.

The bell, which was presented by Champion, Dickason and Burgis, being claimed by the selectmen as the property of the town, was removed from the belfry of the meeting-house September 25, 1845, and surrendered to the selectmen, who caused it to be placed in the cupola of the town house. The cause of the removal of the bell by the committee of the parish, and the surrender of it to the town, was the claim instituted by the selectmen, to the right of entering the meeting-house for the purpose of ringing the bell, and repairing the clock and bell—a claim which was disallowed by the parish.

NOTE 50, page 143.

FORMATION OF THE PARISH.

THE records of the parish begin with the date of May 20, 1784, when the inhabitants of the parish, qualified to vote in town affairs, were warned to meet in the meeting-house for the transaction of business, by warrant from Thaddeus Mason, of Cambridge, justice of the peace. The reason of the warrant's being given by Mr. Mason was, that the parish committee had neglected it so long, that it was out of their power to do it legally.

In the year 1803, a meeting of the "freeholders, and other inhabitants in the first parish qualified to vote in parish affairs," was held in the town hall, "to take into consideration the petition of John Larkin and others, inhabitants of the first parish in Charlestown, and members of the first religious society in said town, praying that the holders of pews in the meeting-house in which they worship, may be made a body corporate, with power to make assessments on the pews in said house, for the repairing of the same, and the support of the teacher of said society." A committee was appointed to oppose said petition, by a vote of 157 to 88. Notwithstanding this opposition, the act of incorporation was passed March 5, 1803. Upon the organization of the parish by the act of incorporation, a list, consisting of 238 names, was prepared, comprising all the persons who, agreeably to the provisions of that act, were members of the first parish in the town of Charlestown. An act in addition to the act of 1803, was passed in 1812, and still another in 1822.

NOTE 51, page 148.

THE TABLET.

A TABLET, bearing the following inscription, is placed in the vestibule of the church.

IN MEMORY OF
THE PASTORS AND TEACHERS OF THIS CHURCH.

THOMAS JAMES,

Born —; grad. Cam. Univ. Eng., Eman. Coll. A. B. 1614, A. M. 1618; ins. Nov. 2, 1632; dis. March 11, 1636.

ZECHARIAH SYMMES,

Born, Canterbury, Eng.; grad. Cam. Univ. Eng., Eman. Coll. A. B. 1620; ins. Dec. 22, 1634; died Feb. 4, 1671, æt. 72.

JOHN HARVARD,

Born —; grad. Cam. Univ. Eng., Eman. Coll. A. B. 1631, A. M. 1635 adm. to chh. Nov. 6, 1637; died Sept. 14, 1638.

THOMAS ALLEN,

Born, Norwich, Eng.; grad. Cam. Univ. Eng., Caius Coll. A. B. 1627, A. M. 1631, ins. 1639, dis. 1651, died Sept. 1673, æt. 65.

THOMAS SHEPARD,

Born, London, Eng.; grad. Harv. Coll. 1653; ord. April 13, 1659; died Dec. 22, 1677, æt. 43.

THOMAS SHEPARD, JR.

Born, Charlestown; grad. Harv. Coll. 1676; ord. May 5, 1690; died June 7, 1685, æt. 27.

CHARLES MORTON,

Born, Fendavy, Eng.; grad. Ox. Univ. Eng.; ins. Nov. 5, 1686; died April 11, 1698, æt. 72.

SIMON BRADSTREET,

Born, New London, Ct.; grad. Harv. Coll. 1693; ord. Oct. 26, 1698; died Dec. 31, 1741, æt. 72.

JOSEPH STEVENS,

Born, Andover; grad. Harv. Coll. 1703; ord. Oct. 18, 1716; died Nov. 16, 1721, æt. 39.

HULL ABBOT,

Born, Boston; Grad. Harv. Coll. 1720, ord. Feb. 5, 1724; died April 18, 1774, æt. 72.

THOMAS PRENTICE,

Born, Cambridge; grad. Harv. Coll. 1726; ins. Oct. 3, 1739; died June 17, 1782, æt. 80.

JOSHUA PAINE,

Born, Sturbridge; grad. Harv. Coll. 1784; ord. January 10, 1787; died Feb. 27, 1788, æt. 25.

All of whom, except Thomas James and Thomas Allen, who returned to England, died in the ministry of this church, and were interred in the ancient burying ground of this town.

Whose faith follow,—considering the end of their conversation: Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and forever. Heb. xiii. 7. 8.

NOTE 52, page 150.

INSTALLATION OF REV. DR. MORSE.

DR. MORSE had been ordained in 1786, in New Haven, Ct. as an Evangelist, to take the place of Rev. Dr. Holmes, afterwards of Cambridge, who had received a similar ordination the year before in the same place, for the purpose of taking the pastoral care of a Congregational church in Midway, Ga.

The churches invited to the council of installation were nine, viz: the church in Brookline, Rev. Joseph Jackson; in Sturbridge, Rev. Joshua Paine; Cambridge, Rev. Timothy Hilliard; Boston, Rev. Jeremy Belknap, Rev. Peter Thatcher, Rev. John Eliot, Rev. Joseph Eokley; Medford, Rev. David Osgood; and Woodstock, Ct. Rev. Eliphalet Lyman. Dr. Belknap's sermon was published at the request of the parish, together with the charge by Mr. Jackson, and the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Osgood.

The churches invited to attend the council convened for the ordination of Mr. Paine, were the churches in Sturbridge, Rev. Joshua Paine; in Brookfield, Rev. Mr. Fisk; Brookline, Rev. Mr. Jackson; Cambridge, Rev. Mr. Hilliard; Medford, Rev. Mr. Osgood; Boston, Rev. Mr. Thacher, and Rev. Mr. Eliot. The president, professors, and tutors of Harvard College, and ministers of all denominations, of the town of Boston, were invited to dine with the ordaining council.

NOTE 53, page 151.

HARVARD AND WINTHROP CHURCHES.

THE second or "Harvard Church" was formed March 26, 1817. Their first minister, Rev. Thomas Prentiss was ordained March 26, 1817, and died October 5, 1817, at the age of 25. Their second minister, Rev. James Walker, D. D., was settled April 15, 1818, and was dismissed 1839, having been elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in Harvard University. The Rev. George E. Ellis, their present pastor, was ordained March 11, 1840.

The third Congregational or "Winthrop Church," is orthodox in faith, and was gathered January 9, 1833. Thirty-four persons, fourteen of whom were males, were dismissed from this church, for the purpose of being organized by a council into a new church. Their first minister, Rev. Daniel Crosby, was installed August 14, 1833, and died February 28, 1843, in the 44th year of his age, having resigned his pastoral charge about a year before his death. Their present pastor, Rev. John Humphrey, was ordained November 30, 1842.

The other churches in this town, are three Baptist, a Universalist, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Free-will Baptist, and Episcopalian.

NOTE 54, page 158.

DR. MORSE.

DR. MORSE was born in Woodstock, Ct., and graduated at Yale College, in 1783. In the summer after his dismissal from this church, he received a commission from the President to travel among the Indian tribes of the Western Country for the purpose of ascertaining their actual condition. His report to the Secretary of War, having been submitted to Congress, was published at New Haven, in 1822, under his own inspection. He died in New Haven, June 9, 1826. As an author he was greatly distinguished by his geographical works, and his other publications were numerous. I have been informed by S. F. B. Morse, Esq., that his brother Richard is now engaged in preparing a biography of his father.

NOTE 55, page 158.

PRESENT MEETING-HOUSE.

THE cost of this edifice was \$17,435 77, not including the materials of the old house, much of which was sound and valuable. The building is 78 feet long and 68 feet wide.

NOTE 56, page 159.

SACRAMENTAL FURNITURE.

IN the year 1800, the sacramental furniture of the church consisted of 4 flagons, 14 tankards, 1 cup, 1 bason, and 1 spoon, all of silver, and also 8 pewter dishes and 2 table cloths. Of these, 3 flagons, 7 tankards, and 4 pewter dishes, not having been used for many years, were sold, and the proceeds loaned to the town of Charlestown, to be again invested in plate for the use of the communion table, at the pleasure of the church.

As a part of the plate sold was given to the church by Richard Sprague, Esq. and Mrs. Stevens, the name of Mrs. Stevens was inscribed on one of the tankards belonging to the church; and on the bottom of the tankard then in use, and given by Richard Sprague, Esq., the following inscription was engraved: "This tankard, with three large flagons, were given to the church in Charlestown by Richard Sprague, Esq. a liberal benefactor to the church and poor of said town, A. D. 1703. The flagons not being needed for sacramental uses, were sold by vote of the church, June 17, 1800, and the property vested in a town note. See Church Book, No. 1, page 58, and Church Book, No. 2, page 31."

Reference is made in Church Records ii. 32, to a volume in folio, in which was written "a full account of the proceedings of the church and the reasons on which they were founded." This volume appears to have been lost.

On the handle of one of the small tankards sold, were the letters S. T. A., the initials of a giver unknown; and these letters were transferred to a tankard belonging to the church, and then in use.

The pieces of sacramental furniture, now in the possession and use of the church, are as follows :

2 tankards. "The gift of Capt. Richard Sprague."

2 do. "R. + R. to C. C."

1 do. "C. + 1763." "The gift of Mrs. Abigail Stevens to the church in Charlestown."

1 do. "The gift of Capt. John Miller to the church of Christ in Charlestown, 1793."

1 do. "C. + C. 1763."

1 cup. "Ex dono Mrs. Elisa. Smith to the church of Christ, April 12, 1717."

1 spoon. "C. C."

1 bason. "Hocce lavacrum Ecclesiæ Charlstoniensi Nov. Angliæ in baptismi usum dedicat Henricus Phillips, 1 mo. Maii. 1726."

1 table cloth.

The following "statement of property belonging to the church of Christ in Charlestown," was made January 1, 1788, by James Russell, Samuel Henley, and Joseph Hurd—a committee raised for the purpose—and is the earliest I find on record.

"One lot of land at Walnut-tree Hill, 14 acres, rented to Jona. Teel, for which he gave a note £4 4.

"One ditto in Range-way, 12 acres,¹ rented to Mr. Peter Tufts for £2 8.

"One ditto in Three Pole lane, about 6 acres, the rent of which for this year was given to Dea. Frothingham, by a vote, for his trouble."

Bonds, notes and accounts, viz :

"James Adams and William Lawrence note of hand, dated November 19, 1787, £38.

"John Edmand's bond, with a mortgage, settled to June 19, 1787, £51 3.

"Aaron and Jona. Teel's bond, £20.

"Jona. Teel's note of hand, April 12, 1789, £6.

"Estate of Dea. John Frothingham, the balance of his accounts, £35 4 7.

"Estate of Samuel Hutchinson, the balance settled to June 9, 1787, £15 1 7.

"Estate of William Hunnewell, the balance, £8 18 2."

¹ This land was sold by vote of the church, 1833, "for the benefit of the Boston and Lowell Corporation." The new church in Somerville now stands upon this lot.

NOTE 57, page 159.

THE RUSSELL FAMILY.

THE ancestor of this distinguished family was the Hon. Richard Russell, who came from Herefordshire in England, in 1640, at the age of 29, and settled in this place. He was one of the most eminent merchants of his time, and died at the age of 65, in 1676, possessed of a large estate. He bequeathed to this town a valuable farm lying in Lynnfield, the income of which was to be distributed among the poor of Charlestown, at the discretion of the selectmen and deacons. He gave also two other lots of land to the town, the income of one of which he appropriated for the support of school education; the other for the relief of the poor of the church, to be distributed by the deacons. He gave also handsome legacies to the then ministers of Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Newton, Roxbury, and Dorchester.

Hon. James Russell, eldest son of Richard, was born in Charlestown, October 4, 1640, and succeeded his father in his mercantile profession and in his public offices. He died April 28, 1709.

His son, the Hon. Daniel Russell, was born November 30, 1685, and died December 6, 1763. The following character of this excellent man was written immediately after his death: "The Hon. Daniel Russell, for upwards of twenty years, was a member of his majesty's council for this province; he also served the province as commissioner of impost, and the county of Middlesex as treasurer, for more than fifty years; in the discharge of all which offices, such was his conscientious fidelity and unsullied integrity, as procured him universal approbation and esteem in public and private life. His whole conduct was such as evidently showed his invariable desire and endeavor to preserve a conscience void of offence, both towards God and towards man; and by the rectitude of his behavior, to adorn and recommend the holy religion which he professed, and to approve himself to the all-searching eye of the Father of Spirits. His memory is greatly honored by all who were acquainted with him, in whose esteem he was truly that noblest work of God, AN HONEST MAN. It is observable, that in all the several offices which he sustained, he succeeded his worthy father and grandfather, both of whom held and discharged the same, for a great number of years, with unspotted reputation."

The Hon. James Russell, second son of Daniel, was born in Charlestown, August 5, 1715. His mother was the only daughter of the Hon. Charles Chambers. His wife was the daughter of Hon. Thomas Graves, whom he married at the age of 23, and with whom he lived nearly forty years. He died April 24, 1798, in the 83d year of his age. From the sermon preached by Dr. Morse, the Sabbath after Mr. Russell's death, we learn that he bore a most exemplary character, and this is amply attested by many still living who remember him. He was singularly attached to his native town, and in some instances he made the interests of his own family subordinate to those of the town. He was distinguished, like his ancestors, by his charities to the poor; and was much occupied in devising and executing

plans for their good. The last public business in which he was engaged, was to disembarass some valuable legacies bequeathed to the poor of the town, which had during the war become mixed with other funds, for which business no other person possessed so competent information, and by which he restored and secured to the poor a handsome and regular income. His great object was to do good, and he was continually devising liberal things. "Of this," says Dr. Morse, "I myself have been a frequent witness. After I had taken my last leave of him, previous to my late journey, he said to me, 'I have been thinking of a plan for the benefit of the poor of this town, which I will communicate to you when you return.'" Dr. Morse did not return, however, before his death, so that he had no opportunity of knowing what the plan he contemplated was, but says that it originated in his mind from reading Count Rumford's essays. He was also warmly enlisted in behalf of the cause of education, both in the town and state, in private schools and in public seminaries. He was a great advocate for social libraries, particularly for the use of the clergy¹ in the country; and often expressed a wish that gentlemen of property and benevolence would bequeath legacies for such establishments. Mr. Russell was also, says his pastor, "a professor, and a sincere, influential and uniform friend and supporter of the Christian religion. The religious duties of the Sabbath, of the family, and the closet, he regularly and devoutly performed. He not only believed, but he exemplified in his practice the religion which he professed. And he experienced its comforts and supports in every period of his life, and particularly in his last sickness, which he endured with a calmness and resignation well-becoming a good man. Two things he particularly desired, that he 'might not outlive his usefulness,' and that he 'might have an easy death.' In both, his desires were completely fulfilled. His judgment, memory, health, and social powers continued, in a remarkable degree, unimpaired till a few weeks before his death. His sickness was short, and not extremely painful; and when the time of his departure arrived, without a groan or a struggle, he fell asleep."

Hon. Thomas Russell, the second son of James, was born in Charlestown, April 7, 1740, and died in Boston, April 8, 1796. He was the fifth generation in the mercantile profession, and became the first, or one of the first merchants in America. The sermons of Dr. Thacher and Dr. Morse, on occasion of his death, and the eulogy by Dr. Warren, afford ample testimony to the excellencies of his character. Although abounding in wealth, and surrounded by the most distinguished characters of his own and other countries, there was nothing haughty or assuming about him. By his affability, easiness of access, and engaging condescension, he possessed his immense fortune unenvied, and was universally lamented in death. At a time when infidelity was fashionable, and neglect of religion common, he was not ashamed publicly to profess religion; and he ever maintained a firm, but un-

¹ I am happy to state that a good beginning has been made for a Pastor's library, in the generous donation by James Hunnewell, Esq., of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, in twenty-five volumes, for the use of the pastor of the church. These volumes have been of very essential service in the preparation of these lectures.

tentatious adherence to his religious principles. By birth, education, and residence for many years, as well as by ancestral recollections, he was attached to this town, and was intending shortly to become an inhabitant, and spend the evening of his days in it.

The following interesting facts respecting the manner in which Mr. Russell acquired his property, are derived from Dr. Warren's eulogy. Having obtained his mercantile education under Mr. Thomas Green, an honorable and distinguished merchant of Boston, he went to Quebec in 1759, where he received a consignment, by which he made considerable profit. In 1762, when war existed between France and Great Britain, and the ocean was infested with French privateers, he embarked with a cargo for the West Indies, and was persuaded to take a letter of introduction to a French gentleman in Martinico, which he received with indifference, as the island was in possession of the French, and he was bound to another port. He was captured, however, on his voyage, and carried into Martinico. All his property fell into the hands of the enemy, and he was subjected to severe confinement. Whilst in custody, the circumstance of the letter occurred to his mind, and he was permitted to visit the gentleman to whom it was directed. No sooner had he perused it, than, being in a situation of authority, he obtained Mr. Russell's release, and offered him his own house as an asylum from injury. Nor did his friendly offices terminate here. He loaned him a sum of money, with a part of which Mr. Russell was able greatly to relieve the misfortunes of his fellow prisoners. And this, together with another sum belonging to his father, which happened at that time to be placed in the West Indies, and a strong recommendation from the same friend, enabled him to enter into a very lucrative trade, and thus laid the foundation of his subsequent success. But as if Providence had determined to give him an early lesson of the precarious nature of property, a vessel and cargo was consigned to him from New England and disposed of for bills on a house in Great Britain. Soon after his return to this country, he found the bills protested, and being himself the endorser, he had every reason to suppose himself ruined. Mr. Russell immediately embarked for London, and obtained an interview with the drawer, who, out of regard for Mr. Russell, from the fairness and honesty he discovered in his dealings with him, immediately adopted such measures as secured him against loss. This occurrence, like most of his apparent misfortunes, turned out to his advantage, by leading him to an acquaintance with a house of great credit and eminence in England. The acknowledgements which Mr. Russell afterwards had an opportunity of making to that firm, under the heavy losses which they had suffered, exhibited the singular phenomenon of a European house, deriving in its establishment, a powerful support from the capital of an American merchant. The generous feelings of Mr. Russell's heart were also gratified, by a providential circumstance, which enabled him to repay the interposition of his French friend, to a son or other relative of his benefactor. On his return from England, Mr. Russell opened a store in Boston, but soon after removed, and carried on his business in Charlestown. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, he was possessed of a handsome fortune, but lost a part of it in the destruction of the town. During his exile, he resided in Dunstable, and again

became an inhabitant of Boston, after the evacuation of the town by the British troops. Mr. Russell, improving the advantages accruing from the independence of the country, entered largely into commerce; he sent the first ship ever employed by any individual of the United States, in the trade to Russia; and was also largely concerned in the East India commerce.

Besides Thomas, the children of James and Katharine Russell were ten. Charles, the eldest, born January 7, 1739, was a respectable physician, and died at Antigua, May 27, 1780. Chambers Russell was born December 3, 1755, was educated a merchant, and died at Charleston, South Carolina, an amiable and rising character, March 16, 1790. Margaret Russell, born December 7, 1751, and married to John Codman, Esq., merchant, of Boston, was a most benevolent and excellent woman, and died at Boston, March 12, 1789. She became the mother of Rev. Dr. Codman, of Dorchester.¹

NOTE 58, page 160.

DEA. FROTHINGHAM AND DEA. MILLER.

IN connection with Dea. Larkin, it was my intention to insert some notices of these truly excellent men. I have not, however, been able to find any biographical or obituary notices of them, and I distrust my power of conveying the impression which has been left upon my mind by what I have heard respecting them. Dea. Frothingham was a man of grave deportment and sterling integrity. The weekly church prayer-meeting was held in his house for a period of twenty years. Dea. Miller was distinguished for the cheerfulness of his disposition and the alacrity with which he engaged in works of charity. As a member and officer of the church, he was greatly beloved. Possessed of the social virtues in an eminent degree, he was fond of visiting his fellow members in the church; and his visits were always looked for with interest, and remembered with pleasure. I have been very much impressed by the manner in which all classes of the community—the old and the young—the serious and the gay—and even the irreligious speak of him. He seems to have won the esteem, and in no small degree, the affection of all. He lived without reproach, and died without an enemy—an excellent example for office-bearers in the house of God. "They that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus."

A paper, bearing the title of "Alford Memoir," furnished by the late Joseph Tufts, Esq., of Charlestown, has been loaned me by Rev. Dr. Jenks; and from it I am permitted to make the following extracts.

The Honorable John Alford, Esq., commonly called Col. Alford, died in Charlestown, October 1, 1761, aged seventy-six. His mansion house stood

¹ The above note is a compilation from the sermons of Dr. Morse, and Dr. Warren's eulogy.

at the corner on the northwest side of the road that leads from the Concord road to Malden bridge. The house was large and elegant. It stood a little back from the road, and in front of it was a flower-garden, enclosed with a brick wall with a wooden fence on the top of it. A person, then a child, recollects gathering tulips and other flowers among the ruins of the house. An ancient mulberry tree near by, on the land of Mr. Archibald Babcock, is now the only remnant of this once splendid seat.

Col. Alford owned upwards of seven thousand acres of land in the county of Gloucester, in New Jersey. From his having accounts to settle with people of London, it is probable he was a merchant. He bequeathed upwards of £600 to Harvard College, and also £400 to New Jersey College. Besides the funds on which is founded the professorship in Harvard College, he gave \$9,000 exclusively for the instruction and 'gospelizing of the Indians.'¹ A sum was also left for charities, to be distributed by Rev. Dr. Cooper and others; and accordingly, the executor paid £20 to Rev. Mr. Webster, of Salisbury, whose house was burnt; to a man who suffered by lightning, £2; and £7 10 to Rev. Ezra Carpenter, 'a poor minister.' Judge Trowbridge and Richard Carey were executors to Mr. Alford's will, but the latter only acted, taking advice of the former. A letter of John Locke, the celebrated author of the "Essay on the Understanding," written to John Alford, Esq., father of Col. Alford, is published in the Christian Disciple, for July, 1818.

The following extracts from Sewall's manuscript journal, communicated to me by my kind friend Rev. Samuel Sewall, are too interesting to be omitted, and are therefore introduced, although out of their proper place.

"October 13, 1703. Capt. Richard Sprague is buried. Mr. Russell, Capt. Hayman, Capt. Belcher, Mr. Leverett, Capt. Cary, Capt. Fowl, bearers. Is buried in Mr. Morton's tomb. I was there. Most of the scholars, Joseph for one. My gloves were too little. I gave them him. Governor there.

"1717, August 20. Went to the funeral of Mrs. Mary Hayman, whose maiden name was Anderson. Her first husband's name was Lynde, by whom she had Mrs. Toft (Tufts?); her second, Rev. Thomas Shepard, by whom she had Mrs. Smith; her third husband was Samuel Hayman, Esq., whose widow she was: died in the sixty-seventh year of her age. Was buried in her husband's (Shepard's) tomb, which she built for him as I was told. Bearers, John Usher, Esq., Elisha Hutchinson, Esq.; Samuel Sewall, Edward Bromfield, Esq.; Mr. Leverett, president, John Clark, Esq. Has the reputation of a pious gentlewoman.

"1725, Monday, May 24. Went to Charlestown, where I heard of the death of Madam Bradstreet. Tuesday, May 25. Went to Madam Bradstreet's funeral. Bearers, Dr. Mather, Mr. Colman; Mr. Nathaniel Williams, Mr. Peter Thacher, of Boston; Mr. Appleton, Mr. Abbot. Mr. Bradstreet thanked me as he went from the grave. Madam Russell shewed me great curtesie. I went and sat in her house before I went to the house of mourning. Mr. Colman and Webb came in and sat with me. Had gloves at the funeral. Cousin Wendell rode home with me in my calash, being somewhat lame."

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. II. 46.

CATALOGUE

OF

ADMISSIONS TO FULL COMMUNION.

[This list embraces all the names on record previous to the settlement of Dr. Morse in 1789.]

mo. day. 1639.

10. 6. William Learned and Goodith his wife.
10. 20. William Brakenbury.
10. 27. Alice Molton.
11. 5. Anne Brakenbury.
12. 2. Jane Molton.
12. 9. Elias Maverick.

1633.

1. 9. Edward Jones.
1. 15. John Woolrych and Sarah his wife.
1. 22. William Stilson and Elizabeth his wife.
1. 29. John Greene and Perseverance his wife.
3. 25. Jonathan Wade and Susanna his wife.
4. 1. Walter Pamer and Rebeckah his wife, and Grace Pamer their daughter.
4. 8. Daniell Shepheardson.
4. 29. Edward Carrinton.
5. 30. Richard Kettell and Hester his wife.
6. 7. George Whitehand.
- 24. William Baker.
31. Alice Pemberton, Doroty Dade, Jone Baker.
21. Edmond Hubbard, Jr., with Elizabeth his wife.
19. Abraham Mellows and Martha his wife, and Edward Mellows their son, and Edmond Hubbard, Senior.
31. James Tomson and Elizabeth his wife.
30. Beniamine Hubbard and Alice his wife.
12. Elizabeth Atwood and Mary Snell.
27. Josuah Hubbard and Rebeckah his sister.

1634.

1. 10. James Brown and Hester Morris.
4. 14. Elizabeth Brown.
4. 23. John Mowall and his wife.
6. 30. William Nash and Mary his wife, Thomas Goble and Alice his wife, and Sarah Oakely.
2. 21. Jone Stutton and Anne Haukes.
10. 6. Mr. Zacharias Symmes and Sarah his wife.
11. 4. Elishua Crowe, John Blacke and Susanna his wife.
11. 10. William Bacheller and Elizabeth Peerce.
12. 4. Thomas Lynde and Margerite his wife.
12. 13. William Johnson and Elizabeth his wife.
12. 21. Thomas Peerce, Georg Buncker, Elizabeth Russell and John Sybley with Sarah his wife.

1635.

2. 3. Alice Chubbuck and Millicent Sprague.
6. 30. Mr. Peeter Hubbard.
7. 13. Margery Eames and James Haydon.
10. 5. Hanna Mellows and Miles Rastow, with Marcia his wife, and Thomas Brigden with Tomazin his wife.
10. 12. Sarah Ewer.
11. 8. Elizabeth Davis, Mary Haukins, Alice Rand, Susanna Halsted and Thomas Ewer.
22. 21. Mary Richeson.

mo. day. 1636.

2. 17. Robert Hankins, Robert Long, Georg Heipbourn, Mary Jeffreis, Elizabeth Long, Judith Bunker.
4. 11. Thomas Michell and Anne his wife.
11. 8. Joseph Kitcherin, Thomas Castar, Phillip Drinker and Mary Gould.
12. 12. Winifred Harrod and Alice Wicks.
12. 27. Robert Sedgwick with Joanna Sedgwick.

1637.

5. 10. Hennerly Smith and Dorothy Smith.
9. 6. John Harvard and Anna Harvard his wife with Robert Cuttler.
12. 18. Samuell and Thomas Richesson and Abigail Maverick.

1638.

1. 25. John Gould, William Johnson, and John Brimsmead with Anna Jones.
2. 6. Steeven Fosdick, Hanna Heipbourn, Elizabeth Drinker, Rebeccah Cutler and Joannah Hauke.
7. 7. Isaak Cole and Joanna Cole, James Garret and Deborah Garret, Katherin Coytmore, and Sarah Fosdick with Margerite Lewis.
11. 8. Seth Switzer, Elizabeth Taylor and Joanna Larkin.

1639.

1. 10. William Sargeant, Josuah Tydd and Mary Norton.
1. 17. Sarah Sargeant.
3. 12. Thomas Martin and Rebeckah Trarice.
4. 3. Abraham Hill with Martha Coytmore.
7. 2. John Martin, Rebeckah Martin, Hannah Castar and Sarah Lary.
7. 9. Sarah Tydd, Jone Richeson, Bethia Switzer and Mary Leach.
7. 16. John Festicost with Joanna Panticost.
7. 23. Edward Larkin, William Phillips with Mary Phillips.
8. 7. Thomas Graves, Katherin Graves, Anna Maverick with Mary Eaglesfeild.
8. 24. John Caule, Mary Brimsmead.
10. 8. Francis Willoughby and Mary Willoughby.
10. 22. Thomas Allen and Jane Smith.
11. 19. Elizabeth Felt.
12. 2. Mary Cole, Joseph Hill, Rose Hill, and Susanna Seers.
12. 16. Thomas Coytmore and Bennitt Caule.

1640.

1. 30. Thomas Wilder and Edward Wood.
3. 24. Ruth Wood, Richard Robbins, with Rebeckah Robins.
3. 31. John Baker.
4. 7. Sarah Baker, Thomas Gould and Hannah Gould.
7. 23. Augustin Walker, John Palmer, Anna Smith and Elizabeth Hancock.

mo. day. 1641.

1. 28. John Seers and William Palmer.
2. 4. Lambert Sutton.
3. 11. Mary Burrage and Anna Walker.
3. 22. John Allen, Richard Russell and Maud Russell.
3. 30. Richard Cook.
5. 5. Susanna Jones.
31. John Weightman, Elizabeth Broun and Joanna Wood.
11. 15. Richard Lowden and Solumon Phips.
11. 28. Anna James and Elizabeth Sawford.
- 1642.
2. 10. John Burrage and Francis Norton.
2. 17. John Scott, John Green and Sarah Symms.
3. 15. John March, Gady James and mother Phips.
29. Rebeckah March and Elizabeth Chamberlaine.
9. 30. William Wallis, Isaak Wheeler, Susanna Weightman, Ellenor Cary, Murgerite Hurst, Suretrust Rous, Elizabeth Greene, Sarah Beel, and Eedy Harris.
- 1643.
2. 13. Elizabeth Haukins, Anna Jaque and Elizabeth Pitts.
5. 1. Mathew Smith and Faithfull Rous.
8. William Smith.
9. 4. William Green, Thomas Lynde, Ralph Woorey, Faintnot Winds, Ellinor Milior, Sarah Allen, Sarah Nichols, and Mary Cartar.
9. 30. Abraham Haukins, Sarah Cooke, Sarah Kitcherin, Peircis Bridges, Mary Hadlock, and ould goodwife Grover.
10. 9. Elizabeth Cooper, Margery Rand, Mercie Rous, Elizabeth Harrington and Abraham Jaquith.
- 1644.
7. 10. Nathaniell Hadlocke, Thomas Osborn, John Lewis, Hopesill Mirick, Elizabeth Grover, Elizabeth Wood and Sarah Hill.
- 1645.
5. 1. Francis Wheeler, Mary Shawe, Alice Barnard, Katherin Waffe, Bridget Winds, Samuel Carter and Mihell Smith.
- 1646.
11. 15. Robert Chalkley, Thomas Cartar, jun. James Greene, Mary Newell and John Waite.
12. 7. Mary Gwin.
- 1647.
3. 3. James Cary, Randall Nicholls, Manes Sally, Edward Harrington, James Pike and John Gobe.
- 1648.
5. 9. Samuel Haward, Sarah Haward, Esther Jenner, Mary Sally, Mary Symms and Rebeckah Graves.
- 1650.
2. 12. Richard Stower, Jacob Green, Thomas Welsh, John Tucky, Mary Orton. Elizabeth Sheppy and Hannah Ludkin.
3. 7. Margery Knight, Anna Wilder and Cartar.
- 1652.
1. 14. Joanna Davison, Sarah Broune, Joanna Stower and Roger Morgan.
21. Steven Streeter, Ursula Streeter, John Clough, Jone Clough, Thomas Gould, Hanna Gould, John Foul and Mary Foule, Lawrence Dous, Mary Cuttin, Gualter Edmonds and Dorothy Edmonds.
6. 15. William Foster.
92. John Peirce.
7. 23. Anne Foster, Mary Gibbs, Sarah Smith and Elizabeth Symms.
9. 27. John Cutler, Anna Cutler, Elizabeth Trumble, Mary Ridgway and Huldah Symms.
10. 4. Goertuid Spencer, Mary Fosdike and Joanna Long.

mo. day. 1655.

12. 21. Mary Russell and Joanna Greene.
- 1656.
1. 9. Samuel Nowell, Rebeckah Booth, Katherin Roswell, Mary Kemphorn, Hannah Griffin, Mary Nash and Abigail Stubbs.
6. 9. Samuel Ward, Francis Ward, Jane Cloyes, Elizabeth Welsh, Maudline Brazier, Annah Tyngs, Elizabeth Clough, Mary Clough, Amy Harris, — Crouch and — Goodwine.
- 1658.
5. 18. Mis — Bunker by a dismis. from chh. of Watertown.
6. 22. John Hale, and mysonne Zechary Symms.
29. Mr. Mouly and his wife : he by a dismis. from Braintree; she by a dismis from Dorchester.
29. — Brazier, William Crouch and Sibil Nutt.
8. 31. Mr. Thomas Shepard by a dismis. from chh. of Cambridge.
- 1659.
9. 20. Roger Alie and his wife Jane Alie; by a dismis from Weymoth chh.
9. 20. Mrs. Mary King.
- 1660.
2. 29. Abigal, the wife of John Longe, Thomas Rand and Sarah his wife, Benjamin Bunker, — Jennor the wife of Thomas Jennor, Ruhamah the wife of John Knight, the wife of — Wilson.
3. 6. Katherin the wife of John Philips.
5. 22. G. — Prichet, and Anne his wife and daughter Templer by a dismis. from the chh. of Christ at Yarmoth, in New England, and the same day also, Mrs. Johnson by a dismis. from a chh. of Xt. in Canterbury in Old England. Mr. Zechary Bigden on the same day, G. Edward Willson, Goodwife Martha Lathrop. and — Brigden, the wife of Thomas Brigden.
- 1661.
6. 25. Goodman William Clough.
12. 23. Nathaneel Hutcheson and Sarai his wife; Mary, the wife of bro. Edward Willson, Mrs. Mary Green (the wife of bro. Jacob Green) and the same day, Thomas Osburn and his wife by a letter of dismission from the chh. of Christ at Malden.
- 1662.
4. 29. Mr. Laurence Hammond, G. John Call and Goodw. Lydia Wood.
- 1664.
2. 17. Hannah Call the wife of bro. John Call, Susanna Graves and Elisabeth Edmunds the wife of Joshua Edmunds.
9. 6. Mr. John Chickring and Elisabeth his wife by a dismission from the chh. of Xt. at Dedham.
12. 5. Mrs. Deborah Wade (Worshipfull Thomas Dudley's daughter.)
- 1665.
7. 17. Mr. Thomas Graves, Anne Taylor the wife of Richard Taylor, and Ruth Allin (a widow) married afterward to Mr. Knill.
- 1666-7.
11. 6. Goodman Abraham Smith and Goodwife Hannah Hurry.
12. 24. Mehitabel Hilton (Worshipfull Increase Nowel's daughter), and Elizabeth Graves (Worshipfull Richard Russell's daughter.)
- 1667.
8. 13. Abigail Knight (Sister Stower's daughter), Mrs. Margaret Willoughby and Mrs. Abigail Hammond.
11. 28. G. John Knight.
12. 23. G. Thomas Lord by a dismission from the church of Christ at Ipswich, G. Alice Lord his wife, (Sister Rand's daughter) and Mary Winslow, (Worshipfull Increase Nowel's daughter.)

1666.
 Mar. 22. G. Thomas White, Mr. John Heman, Mrs. Grace Heman (his wife), Mrs. Martha March, G. Peter Frothingham, G. Mary Frothingham (his wife), and G. John Lowdon.
 Mar. 29. G. Sarah Lowdon (the wife of bro. John Lowdon abovesaid), Mrs. Mary Eansford (Capt. Allen's daughter), Mr. Jonathan Wade, G. Nathaniel Rand, Mr. James Russell, Mrs. Mabel Russell, his wife (Governor Haines, his daughter), and G. Hannah Perkins, (our sister Mrs. Long's daughter.)
 Apr. 26. G. Sarai Smith, (Thomas Smith, the butcher's wife,) G. Anna Fowl, (bro. Carter in field, his daughter, and wife of John Fowl,) Mrs. Sarah Lynd, (Mrs. Davison's daughter,) and Elizabeth Norton.
 June 11. Daniel Edmunds and Mary his wife, Mary Mousal, (Thomas Mousal's wife,) Abigail Chadwell, (sometime T. Jones the butcher's wife,) Mrs. Susannah Goose, (Abigail Chadwell's daughter,) Mrs. Sarah Long, (Ensigne Tid's daughter,) G. Grace Sheppy and G. John Knight, Senior.
 Aug. 9. G. John Founel and Mary Founel his wife, by a dismission from the church of Christ at Cambridge.
 Feb. 24. Sarah Powel (a widow), afterwards married to Mr. Blaney.
 1668-9.
 Mar. 21. Elizabeth Wire (bro. Johnson's daughter) wife of Edward Wire.
 1669.
 May 21. Elizabeth Balcom, (Deacon Haines of Sudbury's daughter.)
 Oct. 24. Rev. Mr. Thomas Thatcher, by a letter of dismission from the 1st church in Boston.
 Dec. 5. Samuel Pierce.
 Jan. 30. Mary Fowl, (wife of Peter Fowl,) Sarai Elson, (daughter of our bro. Mr. Heman,) Elizabeth Roy, (daughter of our bro. Phipps.)
 1670.
 Mar. 27. Nathaniel Cutler, Joseph Frost and Mary Pierce, (the wife of Samuel Pierce.)
 April 3. Thomas Chadwell, Martha Smith, (bro. Abraham Smith's wife.)
 April 3. Solomon Phips, Jr., Mary Phips his wife, (the worshipful Thomas Danforth's daughter,) Samuel Frothingham, Ruth Frothingham his wife, Mary White, the wife of bro. Thomas White, Joseph Kettle, Hannah Kettle his wife and Samuel Kettle.
 June 12. Giles Fifield, Mrs. Prudence Russell, Richard Asting, Rachel Bachelour and Abigail Asting.
 Aug. 14. Mr. William Hilton, by a letter of dismission from church of Christ in Newbury; Thomas Hale, by a letter of dismission from church of Christ in Norwaak, Hannah Frost, the wife of bro. Joseph Frost, and daughter of Rev. Mr. Miller.
 Nov. 20. Rebeckah Roe.
 Jan. 22. Anne Hitt, an ancient widow, by a letter of dismission from the church in Malden.
 Jan. 22. Nathaniel Frothingham and Mary Frothingham his wife.
 1670-1.
 Mar. 12. Mr. Joseph Lynd, Mary Whittamore, (deacon Upham's daughter, of Malden.)
 1671.
 Apr. 22. Mrs. Mehabet Wellsted, (Mr. Caryes daughter.)
 June 11. Hannah Edmunds, the wife of John Edmunds.
 Jan. 21. Mrs. Mary Marshall, (Mr. Hilton's daughter,) Mrs. Rebeckah Jones, (named Sally before her marriage.)
 1673.
 Feb. 9. Samuel Dowse, Mrs. Abigail Willoughby, (Mr. Nehemiah W's wife.)
 1673.
 April 6. Elizabeth Focket.
 Apr. 13. John Kent and Hannah Kent his wife, by dismission from the church of Christ in Dedham.
 June 15. Hannah Dowse, the wife of Samuel Dowse, (deacon Ludkin's daughter.)
 Sept. 28. Hannah Salter.
 Jan. 25. Dorothe Hitt, the wife of Thomas Hitt.
 1674.
 Nov. 1. Sarai Gilbert, (the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gilbert's widow,) by a letter of dis. from the church of Christ in Topsfield.
 1675.
 Mar. 21. Mr. Joseph Brown, by a letter of dismis. from Salem church, Mrs. Abigail Davison, wife of Mr. Daniel Davison.
 May 16. John Dowse and Relief Dowse his wife, (her father Mr. Holland, sometime of Dorchester,) Mary Dowse, (the daughter of our bro. Serjant Dowse.)
 June 27. Johanna Larkin, the wife of John Larkin (formerly deacon Hale's daughter.)
 Aug. 8. Margaret Maverick, the wife of Elias Maverick.
 Oct. 3. Mrs. Mehabet Brown, (formerly Mr. Brenton's daughter, and the wife of Mr. Joseph Brown,) by dismission from the church of Christ in Taunton.
 Oct. 3. Elizabeth Larkin, the wife of Thomas Larkin, Serjeant Dowse's daughter, Elizabeth Cutler, the wife of Timothy Cutler, cous. Hilton's daughter, Anna Walker, the wife of John Walker, sister Mirick's daughter.
 Dec. 19. Rebeckah Moie, the wife of Enoch More.
 Jan. 23. Mr. Thomas Russell, G. Zechariah Ferris, Mrs. Eunice Sprague, the wife of Mr. Richard Sprague, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, the wife of Mr. Daniel Smith.
 1676.
 Mar. 12. G. Zechariah Johnson and Elizabeth his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Tuck, (Lieftenant Nichols' daughter, and the wife of Mr. Thomas Tuck,) Mrs. Esther Carter, the wife of Thomas Carter, by a letter of dismission from the church in London, of which Mr. Thomas Vincent is pastor, G. Martha Goodwin, the wife of Jno. Goodwin, and daughter of Benjamin and Martha Lathrop, G. Hannah Bickner, the wife of Samuel Bickner, the daughter of our sister Bell, Mrs. Rebeckah Allin, the daughter of Capt. Allin, deceased.
 Apr. 16. Mr. Daniel Russell, son of the worshipful Richard Russell, Sarai Cole, the wife of Jacob Cole.
 May 14. Isaac Fowl, John Goodwin, Amethia Benjamin, the wife of Abel Benjamin.
 June 11. Mr. John Phillips.
 July 9. Mrs. Sarai Howard, the wife of Nathaniel Howard, Major Willard's daughter.
 Dec. 17. Mr. John Blaney, G. James Miller, and G. Mary Johnson, the wife of Isaac Johnson.
 1677.
 Mar. 18. Christopher Goodwin and Mercy Goodwin his wife, the daughter of our sister Crouch.
 Apr. 15. Mary Davis, the wife of Nathaniel Davis.
 June 10. Mrs. Susanna Tompson, the wife of Mr. Benjamin Tompson, Hannah Baxter, the wife of Jno. Baxter, Elizabeth Vine, the wife of William Vine, Sarai Counte, the wife of Edward Counts.
 July 1. Mrs. Sarai Goose, the wife of Mr. John Goose.
 Aug. 5. Mary Millar, the wife of James Millar, a Scotchman.
 Sept. 2. G. Thomas Sheppard, Mrs. Elisabeth Knell, the wife of Mr. Jno. Knell, Sarai Everton, the wife of Willm. Everton, the widow Elisabeth Dean, (bro. Burrage, his daughter.)
 Sept. 23. Mary Knight, the wife of our bro. John Knight, Faith Dowse, the wife of our bro. Samuel Dowse, (her father is deacon Jewet of Rowley.)
 Oct. 28. Mr. Isaac Foster, the son of Mr. Wilm. Foster, Abigail Carter, the wife of Samuel Carter, Anna Taibol, the wife of Thomas Taibol, junior.
 Dec. 9. Mary Leman, the wife of Samuel Leman.

1680.

July 4. G. John Guppy and Elisabeth Guppy his wife, by dismission from the church of Christ in Weymouth.

Aug. 15. Mr. Samuel Ballard, Mary Endes, the wife of John Endes, and Sarai Chapman, the wife of Thomas Chapman.

Oct. 17. Mrs. Mary Long, the daughter of Mr. Burr, minister of Dorchester, and wife of Mr. Zechariah Long, by virtue of a letter of dismission from Newbury.

Dec. 19. G. Jno. Swett, by dismission from Newbury church.

Jan. 9. Alice Adams, the wife of G. Thos. Adams. Mary Knight, the wife of our bro Jno. Knight. Sarai Chyrch, the wife of Cornelius Chyrch. John Cutler, junior, the son of our Dea. Cutler. Jan. 30. Emme Lynd, the wife of our bro Mr. Joseph Lynd. Hannah Melvyn, the wife of Jno. Melvyn. Hannah Miller, the wife of our bro. Joseph Miller.

1681.

March 6. Susanna Tarbol (widow), Elisabeth Meade, the wife of Mr. Nicholas Meade, Mary Dowse, the wife of Joseph Dowse.

March 13. Mr. John Long and Mr. Thomas Jenner. April 3. G. Benjamin Phillips, son of Dea. Phillips of Weymouth, G. Jacob Hurd, by dismission from Boston 1st ch.

April 24. G. Sarah Edmister, the wife of —, by dismission from Reading church, Susannah Dammion, by dismission from do.

June 26. Mr. Nicholas Meade, Hannah Newell, the wife of Mr. Jos. Newell, Sarai Walters, the wife of Steven Walters.

Sept. 11. G. Samuel Blanchard.

Oct. 16. G. William Jimmison, Hannah Barret, widow, Mrs. Sarai More, widow, and the daughter of Mr. — Foster, Sarai Farick, the wife of Mr. —.

1681-2.

Jan. 29. G. Thomas Rand, junior, Grace Ireland, the wife of John Ireland.

Feb. 12. Mrs. Rebeckah Lynd, widow.

1682.

May 7. Jonathan Cary, Deborah Chamberlain, the wife of —.

June 4. Mrs. Elisabeth More, the wife of —.

Oct. 15. Timothy Pratte.

Nov. 19. Sarai Walters, the wife of G. Jacob Walters.

Jan. 14. Mary Ryall, the wife of Joseph Ryall, Hannah Cary, the wife of Jonathan Cary.

Jan. 28. Andrew Stimson and Abigail his wife.

1683.

June 3. Susannah Pike the wife of Joseph Pike.

June 29. Mrs. Elisabeth Whiting, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Whiting, pastor of the ch. in Billrecon.

1684.

Mar. 9. Mr. Samuel Phipps, Sarai Knight, wife of our bro. Jno. Knight, by dismission from Boston 1st church, Anna Hurd, the wife of our bro. Jacob Hurd, Sarai Rand, the wife of our bro. Thomas Rand.

Mar. 30. Mrs. Lydia Marshall, the wife of Mr. William Marshall.

May 18. Mrs. Mary Shepard, (my wife.)

Jan. 4. Elisabeth Cary, daughter of Mrs. Cary the widow.

Feb. 22. G. Jno. Simpson and Abigail his wife, G. Jonathan Simpson and Wait his wife.

1685.

Mar. 22. G. Nathaniel Kettle, G. Jonathan Kettle

May 3. Hannah Kettle, the wife of our bro. Nathaniel Kettle, Susannah Logyn, the wife of G. Alexander Logyn.

Admitted into full communion by me Charles Norton.

1686.

mo. day 10. 13. Capt. Richard Sprague, Mrs. Elisabeth Clutterbuck.

11. 9. Nathaniel Dowse.

12. 6. Sarai Burnall, widow.

12. 6. Sarai, the wife of Andrew Phillips.

12. 20. William Clutterbuck.

12. 27. Samuel Penhallow, Anna, the wife of Benjamin Phillips.

1687.

1. 6. John Call, junior, and Martha his wife, Samuel Read and Elizabeth his wife, William Metcalf.

2. 10. Samuel Lord, Sarai, the wife of Patrick Mark, Mary, wife of Paul Wilson, Priscilla, wife of Thomas Crosswell.

3. 8. Mary, wife of Caleb Carter.

6. 21. Nicholas Morton, (my nephew.)

7. 25. Timothy Phillips, Hannah, wife of George Stedman.

8. 30. Samuel Hunting.

9. 20. Mary Hale.

12. 12. Thomas Sheppard, Jr., Elizabeth Dickerman.

1688.

2. 8. Sarah, wife of John Carter.

9. 18. Elizabeth, wife of Jonathan Wade, Esq.

11. 13. Dorcas, wife of Joseph Pratt.

1689.

4. 30. Mary Davie, widow, Mercy Mark.

12. 23. Benjamin Pierpont.

1690.

3. 11. John George and Mary his wife.

4. 11. Mary, wife of Edward Larkin.

6. 28. Mrs. Margaret Sheppard.

10. 14. Mary, daughter of John Fowle.

1691.

3. 31. Abigail, wife of Mr. John Soley.

11. 10. Joseph Whittamore, Roger Hilliard and Experience his wife, Ruth, wife of William Everton.

1692.

1. 6. Moses Cleaveland.

3. 28. Stephen Kiddar, Margaret Parker, widow, Hanna, wife of Thomas Walter, Ann, wife of Daniel Parker, Ruth Baker, widow.

9. 13. Margaret, daughter of Mr. Joseph Lynde.

1694.

3. 27. Judith, wife of Samuel Ingerston.

4. 24. Elizabeth, daughter of br. Samuel Loud.

8. 14. Thomas, (son of Solomon (deceased), and Mary (widow) Phips.

9. 21. Samuel Hayman, Esq.

11. 6. Mehitabel, widow of Richard Austin, deceased.

1695.

2. 21. Urith Nix, widow.

2. 28. Mary Webber, widow.

3. 19. Mary, wife of Matthew Casewell.

4. 23. Mabel, wife of Thomas Choppy, Sara, wife of Archibald Macquerry.

1696.

5. 19. John Mousall, senior, George Ingerston, Samuel Ingerston, Katharine, wife of George Ingerston.

8. 11. John Fodike, sen'r, Samuel Brackenbury.

10. 31. Rebecca, wife of Ebenezer Austin.

1697.

1. 28. Hannah, wife of William Austin.

2. 11. Mary Ford, widow, James Adams, her son-in-law.

7. 26. Mathew March.

Admitted to full communion by me S. Bradstreet, since Oct. 28, 1698.

9. 6. William Rand and his wife, the wife of Joseph Whittamore.

Jan. 1. Sarah, wife of Nathaniel Cloyce.

Jan. 8. Elisabeth, wife of Edward Walton.

Jan. 29. Hannah Frost.

Feb. 28. Rebeckah, wife of William Fomet.

1699.

Mar. 26. James Turner, Mrs. Cutler, the wife of Mr. John Cutler.

April —. Jacob Hurd, the wife of Robert Scott.

May 16. Mrs. Lydia, wife of Mr. Richard Wait.

- May 21. Mrs. Sarah Newell, wife of Mr. Joseph Newell, senior.
 June 18. Hannah, wife of James Turner.
 July 16. Elizabeth, wife of Jacob Hurd.
 Aug. 6. Mrs. Katharine, wife of Mr. Robert Knowles, Mrs. Ruth, relict of Mr. John Row.
 Oct. 8. Abigail Pierce, Hannah, wife of Samuel Counts, the widow Sarah Wheeler.
 Nov. 5. Mrs. Elizabeth Genners.
 Dec. 24. Mr. Nathaniel Cary and Elizabeth his wife.
 Jan. 27. Hannah, wife of Samuel Blunt.
 Mar. 17. Alexander Phillips, Mrs. Abigail Rainer 1709.
 Apr. 21. Mrs. Rebekah Chambers, Mrs. Sarah Foster, Mrs. Susanna Chickering.
 Sept. 8. G. Abel Benjamin.
 Feb. 16. Mr. Richard Foster, Dorothy, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Iowa.
 Feb. 23. Mr. Jonathan Dows, Abigail wife of Andrew Mitchel.
 March 23. Joseph Austin. 1701.
 Oct. 5. Mr. Jacob Green.
 Nov. 23. Mary, wife of Mr. Joseph Lemmon. 1702.
 April 19. Susannah, wife of Alexander Mitchel.
 May 17. Mrs. Parnel, wife of Mr. Richard Foster.
 Sept. 6. Mr. Abraham Hill, senior, Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. John Watkins.
 Nov. 29. Elias Bridgen, John Dammon.
 Dec. 27. Relief, wife of Michael Gill, Mary, wife of Simon Bradstreet. 1703.
 April 18. Sampson (negroe).
 June —. Mary, wife of Elisha Doubleday, Mary Call.
 July 11. Sarah wife of John Edmunds.
 Sept. —. Nathaniel Heaton.
 Oct. 3. The widow Hannah Welsh, William Parkeman.
 Oct. 30. The wife of Samuel Griffin.
 Nov. 23. Robert Cutler, Daniel Badger.
 Dec. 5. Widow Abigail Kettle. 1703-4.
 Jan. 23. Anna wife of Nathaniel Lord, Sarah Frothingham. 1704.
 May 14. Katharin wife of John Tailor, Abigail wife of William Kettle.
 July 19. Hannah wife of John Price, Elizabeth wife of Benjamin Sweetzer.
 Oct. —. Mrs. Rebekah wife of Mr. Isaac Fowl.
 Feb. 18. Mercy Hit. 1704-5.
 March 18. Mr. Samuel Frothingham; the wife of John Dammon.
 April 15. Susannah wife of Nathaniel Heaton, Abigail Sympeon, Deborah Sympeon. 1705.
 May 13. Mary Story.
 Aug. 5. Thomas and (his wife) Elizabeth Lord.
 Sept. 30. Mr. Timothy Cutler, Mr. William Kettle.
 Oct. 25. The widow Susannah Cook.
 Nov. 25. Mr. Eleazer Phillips.
 Jan. 20. Mr. Thomas Crossewell, John Frothingham, Joseph Rand.
 Feb. 17. Nathaniel Frothingham and Hannah his wife. 1706.
 April 14. Dorothy wife of John Mousall.
 June 9. Mr. Eleazer Iows and Mary his wife.
 Sept. 1. Mrs. Sarah Sweetzer, wife of Mr. Seth Sweetzer, Lucy, wife of Benjamin Phillips.
 Sept. 29. Susannah, wife of John Frothingham.
 Dec. 22. Hannah Welsh. 1706-7.
 Jan. 19. Elizabeth, wife of Jonathan Sherman.
 Jan. 26. Mary, wife of Benj. Kettle.
 Feb. 16. Sarah wife of John Waters.
 Mar. 16. Ruth, wife of Robert Wire, Abigail Cary.
 April 6. Mr. Ebenezer Austin, Mercy, wife of Mr. Stephen Badger.
 May 11. Mrs. Martha, wife of Mr. Abraham Hill.
 June 8. Mercy, wife of Robert Foskitt.
 July 6. Benjamin Hurd.
 Aug. 3. Mrs. Dorcas Chitty, Katharine Blaney.
 Aug. 24. Mrs. Eleonor, wife of Mr. William Wire.
 Aug. 31. Mrs. Johannah, relict of Mr. Samuel Everton.
 Oct. 26. Mr. Jonas Capen and Hannah his wife.
 Nov. 23. Sarah, wife of Joseph Rand.
 Dec. 21. Wife of William Sheaf, Senior. 1707-8.
 Feb. 15. Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. Nicholas Lawrence, Sarah, wife of Thomas White, Jr. 1708.
 April 11. Elizabeth Dammon.
 July 4. Susannah, wife of Mr. John Tucker.
 Sept. 26. Mr. Jacob Waters.
 Nov. 21. Katharine, wife of Mr. Theophilus Ivory.
 Dec. 19. Mrs. Elizabeth Wade, Experience Stedman. 1708-9.
 Jan. 16. Sarah, wife of Joseph Mirick. 1709.
 April 16. Abigail, wife of Mr. James Miller.
 July 31. Anna Hurd.
 Sept. 25. Ruth, wife of Mr. Jonathan Edmunds, Elizabeth, wife of Mr. James Capen, Jr.
 Oct. 23. Mrs. Dorothy Trerice.
 Nov. 20. Margarit, wife of Mr. Robert Ward, Mary, wife of Amos Story. 1710.
 April 9. Sarah Mirick.
 May 7. The widow Abigail Hathorn, Hannah, wife of Mr. William Patten.
 May 14. Mr. Joshua Blanchard.
 June 18. Hannah, wife of Mr. James Lowden.
 July 9. Mrs. Prudence, wife of Mr. Ebenezer Swan. 1710-11.
 March 11. Mrs. Abigail Hurry. 1711.
 Aug. 26. Mr. Jonathan Kettle, Jr. 1712.
 April 6. Mrs. Rebeka, wife of Mr. Daniel Russel.
 June 29. Rachel Kidder. 1712-13.
 Jan. 11. Mary, wife of Mr. Ebenezer Hartshorn.
 Feb. 8. Grace Hall, Anne Doubleday.
 March 8. Mrs. Anna, wife of Mr. Ralph Mousal, Mrs. Hannah, wife of Mr. Benj. Andrews, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Thomas Frothingham, Mrs. Anne, wife of Mr. Joseph Newel. 1713.
 May 31. Mr. Ralph Mousal and his son, Ralph Mousal, Rebecca Whitmore.
 June 28. Margary, wife of Mr. Ebenezer Putman.
 Aug. 23. —, wife of Mr. Thomas Call; Rebecca, wife of Joseph Caswell, Elizabeth Crowch, and her sister, Mary Crowch.
 Aug. 30. —, the wife of Mr. Francis Bassett.
 Sept. 20. Hannah, wife of Mr. Daniel Lawrence.
 Oct. 18. Rachel, wife of Mr. Samuel Knight.
 Nov. 13. Mrs. Sarah Foy, wife of Capt. John Foy.
 Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. John Rayner, Jr., Sarah, wife of John Carter.
 Dec. 13. Sarah, wife of Mr. Abraham Miller. 1713-14.
 Jan. 10. Esther Nicholls.
 Feb. 7. Sarah Wilson, Johannah Larkin, Elizabeth Hurd.
 March 7. Elizabeth Townsend. 1714.
 April 4. Katharine, wife of Mr. Jonathan Kettle, Mrs. Ruth Row, Jr., Mary, wife of Mr. Samuel Whitehead.
 May 2. Mr. Joseph Harris, Mr. Caleb Carter.
 May 30. Mr. John Fowle, Lydia Hill, and her sister, Elizabeth Hill.
 June 27. Mrs. Hannah, wife of Mr. Vincent Carter.
 July 25. Sarah, wife of Mr. William Melandy.
 July 25. Mary Swan. 1714.
 Aug. 22. M. Sarah, wife of the Rev. Mr. Jo. Stevens; wife of Mr. Tho. Call, Jr.
 Sept. 19. Mr. Samuel Web.

- Nov. 21. The widow Mary Phillips; the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Webber.
Dec. 12. Robert Ward, Benjamin Dows, Stephen Badger, Juniors.
Dec. 19. Sarah, wife of Mr. Joseph Grant.
1714-15.
Jan. 9. Mrs. Martha, wife of Mr. Ephraim Breed.
Jan. 16. Mrs. Esther Kettel.
Feb. 6. Mary, wife of Mr. John Griffin.
March 6. Ann, wife of Mr. Thomas Chapman.
1715.
March 27. Mr. Richard Miller.
April 3. Dorothy, wife of Mr. Joseph Kidder.
May 8. Sarah, wife of Jonathan Kendall.
May 29. Mr. William Brown.
June 5. Mary, wife of Mr. Richard Miller.
Aug. 21. Mrs. Elizabeth Pierce.
Sept. 11. Annah Mirick.
Sept. 18. Jonathan Pierce, Edward Larkin, Jr.
Oct. 16. Mr. Samuel Blunt, Samuel Kidder.
Nov. 20. Mr. Thomas Call, Jr.
Dec. 11. Mrs. Mabel Jenner, Mr. John Rand, Jr.
Dec. 18. Johannah, wife of Mr. John Call, Jr.
1715-16.
Jan. 29. Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Joseph Lemmon.
March 11. Mrs. Treadway.
1716.
May 6. Mr. Calvin Galpin, Jr.
Oct. 21. Nathaniel Boynton.
Nov. 19. The widow Mrs. Hannah Pierce.
Dec. 9. Thomas Welsh.
Feb. 3. The wife of Mr. Jonathan Fodick.
Feb. 10. Mrs. Relief Rows.
March 3. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. John Fowl.
March 10. Mrs. Susannah, wife of Mr. Samuel Hill, Jr.
Mar. 31. Mr. James Lowden, Sen'r, Mr. Josiah Treadway.
1717.
April 7. William Eaton.
April 28. Thankful Wilson.
May 5. Mr. Ebenezer Hartshorn, the widow Elizabeth Bennet, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. William Hoppin.
June 2. Mr. John Call, Mrs. Anne Patt, wife of —
June 23. Mr. Henry Sommers.
June 30. Mr. John Teal, the widow — Hopkins.
Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Samuel Carey.
July 7. Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. Samuel Webb.
Aug. 18. The wife of Mr. Thomas Brazier, Mrs. Sarah Cutler.
Oct. 13. The widow Shepard.
Oct. 20. Mrs. Lydia, wife of Mr. Eleazar Phillips, Alexander Lovel.
Dec. 15. Mrs. Rebecca, wife of Mr. Charles Burroughs.
1717-18.
Jan. 5. Mr. Samuel Carey.
Jan. 12. Abigail, wife of Mr. Elias Stone, Jr.
Feb. 2. Capt. John Foy, Mr. Benjamin Lawrence, Mr. Philip Cutler, Mr. Samuel Hill, Jr., Mr. Thomas Brazier.
Feb. 9. Capt. Charles Chambers, Mr. Timothy Goodwin.
March 2. Annah Mousal.
1718.
April 6. Mr. Caleb Call.
June 1. Hephzibah Harris, wife of Mr. Timothy Goodwin.
July 20. Mrs. Grace, wife of Mr. John Eads.
Aug. 3. Mr. Peter Fowl.
Aug. 17. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Jonathan Call.
Sept. 14. Mr. Henry Wheeler, John Badger.
Oct. 19. Mrs. Hannah, wife of Mr. John Dymon.
Nov. 9. The widow of Mr. Caleb Crossewell.
Dec. 7. Mr. Elias Stone, Jr., Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Maximilian Dows.
Dec. 14. Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Joseph Phillips.
1718-19.
Feb. 1. Hannah Sherwin.
March 1. Ambrose Coleby.
April 5. Mrs. Hannah, wife of Mr. Eben Breed.
June 21. John Davis, Jacob Dony; wife of Mr. Timothy Read, Jr.
July 26. Jabez Tuttle.
Aug. 16. Mr. Edward Brazier.
Oct. 11. Mrs. Ruth, wife of Mr. William Dady, Hannah Johnson and her sister, Abigail Johnson.
Oct. 18. Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Richard Randol.
Dec. 30. Mrs. Farnel, wife of Mr. John Codman; wife of Mr. James Fowl.
Jan. 31. Mrs. Esther, wife of Mr. James Kettel.
Feb. 7. Wife of Mr. Stephen Kidder.
March 6. Mrs. Esther Hall.
1720.
March 27. Mrs. Anne, wife of Mr. John Asbury, Mr. Thomas Symmes, Mary Nossiter, Mary Cater.
April 3. Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Thomas Jackson, Mrs. Hannah Pierce.
April 24. Mrs. Margalit, wife of Mr. James Sherman.
May 1. Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. Edward Wire.
May 21. Abigail Russell.
May 28. Abigail Addams.
June 19. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Nathaniel Frothingham.
July 17. Mrs. — Luist, wife of Mr. Robert Luist.
July 24. Mr. Thomas Jackson.
Aug. 21. Benjamin Read, Edward Eads.
Sept. 18. Mr. Isaac Parker.
Nov. 6. Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Ezekiel Cheever.
1720-21.
Jan. 1. Mrs. Call, wife of Mr. Caleb Call.
Feb. 5. Mr. Thomas Jenner.
1721.
April 2. Martha Read.
May 21. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. John Smith.
May 28. Mrs. Abigail Smith, daughter of Mr. William Smith.
Aug. 13. Mrs. Elener, wife of Mr. Tho. Harris, Sr.
Aug. 20. Mrs. Anne Foster.
Sept. 10. Wife of Mr. Edward Sheaff.
Oct. 15. Mrs. Eliz. wife of Mr. James Turner.
Dec. 31. Mr. Michael Bridgen, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Richard Sutton.
1721-22.
Jan. 7. Mrs. Margaret, wife of Capt. John Foy, Mr. Richard Boylston and his wife.
Feb. 4. Mr. Zechariah Chickering.
Feb. 25. Nathaniel Lord.
March 4. The wife of Mr. Joseph Austin, Jr.
April 1. Mrs. Silence Harris.
May 27. Mr. Samuel Trumball, and his wife.
Aug. 19. Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. Benjamin Bunker.
Nov. 11. Mr. Joseph Stimpson, the widow Mrs. Elizabeth Kidder.
1722-23.
Jan. 27. Mrs. Sarah Smith.
Feb. 17. Mr. Samuel Call.
March 24. Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. Samuel Call.
May 26. Mrs. Abigail, wife of Mr. William Smith.
June 16. Mrs. Abigail Sweetser, (who then was baptized also.)
July 21. Mrs. Eliz. wife of Mr. John Stanley.
Aug. 18. Mrs. Anna, wife of Mr. Richard Kettel.
Dec. 8. Mrs. Lydia Stimpson.
1723-24.
Feb. 2. Rev. D. Hull Abbot, by letter diss. from church of Tanton; Mr. Joseph Frost; the wife of Mr. John Hilton.
March 22. Richard Call, William Badger, John Webber, Abigail Brown.
March 29. Wife of Mr. Joseph Frost.
April 26. Mrs. Fowl, widow of Mr. Isaac Fowl.
June 21. Samuel Stevens, Mrs. Anne, wife of Mr. Jonathan Ramsdel.
Aug. 9. Peter Eades, Mrs. Annah, wife of Mr. Benjamin Bancroft.

Aug. 16. Mr. Thomas Harris, Sr., Mrs. Rebecca, wife of Mr. Joseph Harris.

Sept. 13. The widow, Mrs. Sarah Pinson, Thomas Monrow.

Oct. 4. Rebecca Stone.

Oct. 11. Mrs. Esther, widow of Capt. John Foster

Nov. 1. Mr. Stephen Badger, Sr.

Dec. 6. Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Benjamin Wheeler.

1724-25.

Jan. 31. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Samuel Cary.

June 13. Mr. William Smith, Jr.

July 18. Mrs. Hannah, wife of Mr. Josiah Harris, William Manly.

Oct. 3. Mr. Seth Sweetser, Jr., Mary Bradstreet (my only daughter, D. 6.)

Oct. 10. Hannah Kettel.

Nov. 7. Mrs. Alice Phillips, widow of Mr. Benjamin Phillips.

Nov. 26. Mrs. Susannah Chickering.

Dec. 5. Sarah, daughter of Mr. John Edmunds.

Dec. 26. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. James Kettel.

Jan. 30. Mr. Thomas Harris, Jr.

1726.

March 27. Mrs. Mary Hill, daughter of Mrs. Hall.

April 24. Elizabeth Rand.

May 15. Anna Kidder, and her sister, Sarah Kidder.

June 19. The widow of Mr. Benjamin Mirick.

July 17. Mr. Benjamin Wheeler.

Aug. 7. Daniel Eads.

Aug. 14. Mr. John Login, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Richard Foster, Jr.

Oct. 9. Mrs. Martha, wife of Mr. Thomas Symmes, Mrs. Ruth, wife of Mr. John Webber.

Oct. 30. Mary Pierce (ancilla nostra).

Dec. 4. Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. William Read.

Dec. 25. Mrs. Huldah Whitmore, d. of Capt. Whitmore.

1726-27.

Jan. 29. Mr. Richard Richardson.

Feb. 19. Mrs. Johannah, widow of Mr. Michael Bridgen.

1727.

March 26. Mrs. Hephzibah, wife of Mr. Edward Larkin, Jr.

April 23. Mr. John Stevens, Academicus.

June 18. Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Jonathan Call, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Joseph Frothingham, Mrs. Anne, wife of Mr. Constant Freeman.

July 16. Mrs. Ruth, wife of Mr. Joseph Hopkins.

Aug. 6. Mrs. Sarah, wife of Dr. Peter Calef, Abigail Lord.

Sept. 10. The widow Hannah Hurry.

Oct. 1. Rebecca Marston.

Nov. 26. Mrs. Elizabeth Foster.

Dec. 3. Mr. Jonathan Rand, Mrs. Millicent, wife of said Jonathan Rand, Rachael Harris, wife of said Jonathan Bridgen, Mr. Ephraim Breed, Mr. Jonathan Edmunds, Jr., Mrs. Elizabeth, (widow.) Mrs. Sarah Whitmore, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. William Pitts, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Joseph Gowen, Mrs. Anna Smith.

Dec. 31. Mr. Joseph Lemmon, Mrs. Katharine, wife of Mr. Thomas Wier, Mrs. Winifred, wife of Mr. Michael Bridgen, Abigail, wife of Thomas Maudlin.

1727-28.

Jan. 21. Timothy Read, Jr., Simon Bradstreet, my son, Joseph Badger, John Hurd, Jonas Mason, Mrs. Sarah, relict of Mr. Jonathan Phillips, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. James Brentnel, Mrs. Joanna, widow of Mr. Samuel King, Hannah Stone, Margarit Mirick.

Jan. 28. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. James Austin, the wife of Mr. Stephen Ford, the wife of Mr. John Sprague, the wife of Mr. Jonathan Dows, Jr., Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Peletiah Webber, the wife of Mr. Roger Connant, Ruth Kempton.

Feb. 18. The wife of Mr. John Rouse, the wife of Michael Bentley, the wife of John Hall, Sarah Waters, Abigail Frothingham, Abigail Kettel,

Esther Call, Mary Sheaf, Rebecca Hurd, Martha Smith.

Feb. 25. The wife of Mr. Nathaniel Frothingham, Jr., Mary, widow of Mr. Richard Whitmore, the wife of Mr. James Hayes, the widow of Mr. John Simmins, the wife of Mr. Thomas Bridgen, Anna Boylston, Rebecca Burr, Mary Ivory.

March 17. Mr. John Edmunds, Jerabmael Pierce, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. James Plucker, the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Lord, the wife of Mr. Robert Stone, the wife of Isaac Aborn, the wife of Phillip Gullishon, (post lapsum confess.) Mary Brackenbury.

March 24. Mr. John, son of Mr. Timothy Phillips, Samuel Hutchison, Jr., the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Sartel, the wife of Edward Mirick, the wife of John Ireland.

1728.

April 14. The wife of Mr. Joseph Whitmore, Jr., the widow — Darling, Mrs. Sarah Dows.

April 21. John Stephens, Mrs. Anne, widow of Mr. Thomas Ivory, Mrs. Mary Smith, Mehitabel Payn.

May 19. Benjamin Frothingham, Jr., Lydia Phillips.

June 9. Mr. Nathaniel Sartel.

Aug. 4. Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Nathan Webber.

Aug. 11. Mary Badger, Abigail Perry.

Nov. 3. Mr. Robert Ball, Mr. Benjamin Bancroft, Mrs. Eunice Treadway.

Dec. 29. Mrs. Dorcas, wife of Mr. John Soley.

1728-29.

Feb. 16. Mrs. Bethiel, widow of Mr. Henry Fowl, wife of Mr. William Badger.

March 23. Anne, daughter of Mr. Joseph Newel.

1729.

April 13. Thomas Hovey, Abigail Hurd, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Hurd.

June 8. James Hovey.

June 16. Mrs. Ruth, wife of Mr. Samuel Hutchison, Jr., Mary, daughter of Mr. Thomas Harris, Jr.

July 13. William Chapman.

Aug. 3. Mrs. Ruth Stimpson, wife of Mr. John Stimpson.

Aug. 10. Mr. Samuel Larkin, Sarah Kettel, Abigail Rand, Hannah Capen, Susannah Clark.

Aug. 31. Robert Cutler.

Nov. 23. Mrs. Sarah Dyer.

1729-30.

Jan. 18. Mrs. Elizabeth Wyer, wife of Mr. Edward Wyer.

Jan. 25. Mr. Richard Foster, Jr.

Feb. 15. Mrs. Joanna, wife of Mr. Thomas Jenner, Mr. Stephen Pierce.

Feb. 22. Mrs. Abigail Phipps, wife of Mr. Samuel Phipps, his sister, Mrs. Mercy Maxey, Mary Kettel.

March 15. Margaret Sheaff.

1730.

April 29. Ruth Hopkins, Jr.

May 10. Mrs. Katharine, wife of Mr. Anthony Lane.

Oct. 4. Mrs. Joanna, widow of Mr. Samuel Hill.

Nov. 29. Mr. John Colman.

Dec. 27. The wife of William Teal.

1730-31.

March 14. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Thomas Huebison.

1731.

April 4. The widow, Mrs. Sarah Caswel.

April 18. Mr. Caleb Lampton.

May 16. Mrs. Dorothy Lampton, wife of Mr. Caleb Lampton.

Oct. 3. Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. John Miller, Mr. John Stimpson.

Oct. 31. Mr. James Flocker, Samuel Frothingham, Jr., John Waters, Zechariah Symmes, James Lowden, Jr.

Nov. 28. Mr. Joseph Hopkins.

1732.

- March 19. Bridget, wife of Josiah Wood.
 May 14. Mr. John Rand.
 June 4. Mrs. Deborah Nurse.
 Sept. 24. Mr. Robert Luit.
 Oct. 29. The wife of Josiah Whittemore.

1732-33.

- Feb. 18. Joanna, wife of Jacob Windet.

1733.

- April 1. Abigail, wife of Edward Sheaf, Jr.
 May 13. Mr. Eleazer Phillips, Mr. Samuel Phipps (cleric,) John Frothingham, (Fil Diacon.)
 Aug. 5. The widow Mary Bateman.
 Sept. 30. The widow Mary Whood.
 Oct. 21. The widow of Benjamin Waters.
 Nov. 25. Mary Miller, (Filia Richardi.)
 Feb. 24. Hannah, the wife of George Burrough.
 March 17. James Miller, Jr.

1734.

- April 14. George Burrough, James Hay, Jr.
 May 5. Thomas Brazier, Jr., William Kettle.
 June 30. Ebenezer Rand, Jr.
 Sept. 1. David Wood, Richard Rand, Zechariah Davis, Jr.
 Oct. 27. The wife of Mr. Samuel Hutchinson.
 Feb. 16. Edmond Rand.

1735.

- April 13. Edward Goodwin.
 May 11. Mildred Davis.
 July 6. The wife of John Kidder.
 Dec. 6. Grace, the wife of Zechariah Symmes.
 Jan. 18. Anna, the wife of Jonathan Hill.
 Feb. 15. Hannah Hill.
 March 14. The wife of Jonathan Edes.

1736.

- April 11. The widow Margaret Gibbs.
 May 9. Ann Miller, Ruth Stimpson.
 June 6. Ebenezer Frothingham, Joseph Hopkins, Jr., Edward Larkin, Jr., Caleb Call, Jr., the wife of James Boulkerson, Hannah Brazier.
 July 4. Nathaniel, son of Timothy Goodwin.
 Sept. 26. Hannah, wife of Silas Ivory.
 Oct. 24. The wife of Elkanah Osburne, Sarah, wife of John Wyer.
 Nov. 21. Elizabeth Hurd, Mary Pinson.

1736-37.

- Jan. 16. Samuel Maxey, Jonathan Kettel, (Fil Benj.) David Townsend, Jr.
 March 13. The wife of Isaac Kidder, the wife of James Capon, Jr.

1737.

- April 10. Joseph Frothingham, Jr., Sarah, wife of William Ford.
 May 8. The widow Hannah Hussing, Rebecca Symmonds.
 July 31. Benjamin Frothingham, Nathaniel Rand, Nathaniel Davis.
 Sept. 25. Samuel Harris.
 Dec. 18. Rebecca Stimpson, Hannah Miller.

1738.

- Jan. 15. The wife of Eleazer Wyer, Mary, the wife of Richard Rand, Sarah Frothingham.
 Feb. 12. Nathaniel Rand and Mehetable, his wife.
 April 9. Mary, wife of John Storor, Judith Upham.
 July 2. Barnabas Davis, Jr., James Kettell.
 July 30. Samuel Austin.
 Nov. 19. Anna Goodwin.
 Dec. 17. Mabel Townsend.

1739.

- Sept. 24. Rev. D. Prentice, admitted into communion with us.
 Nov. 18. Sarah Loring.
 Dec. 16. Edward White.

1740.

- Jan. 13. Katharine, wife of Samuel Goodwin, Lydea Boylstone.
 Feb. 10. Mary Frothingham.
 April 6. Sarah, wife of Joseph Frothingham, Abigail Webb.
 May 4. David Townsend, Shippy Townsend.
 Martha, wife of Shadrack Ireland, Abigail Fowle.
 Aug. 24. The widow of Daniel Manning.

Sept. 21. The widow of Thomas Taylor.

Oct. 19. Elizabeth Webb, Mary Brazier.

Nov. 16. Dorcas, wife of John Leppington, Phoebe, wife of James Trumbal, the wife of Jonathan Gardner, Rebecca, wife of Thomas Wood, Philip Atwood and his wife.

Dec. 14. Joseph Sweetser, Elizabeth Newell, (Vidua,) Abijah Wright, Samuel Hill and Bethiah, his wife, John Codman, Jr., the wife of Joseph Whittemore, 3 tias, Agnis Smith and Mary Smith, sisters.

1741.

Jan. 11. Samuel Bradstreet, James Ingolls, Isaac Rand and Margaret, his wife, Abraham Bateman, Elizabeth, wife of James Fodick, Mehetable Whittemore, Ann Badger, Hannah Mousell, Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of Eleazer Phillips, Mary Newcomb.

Feb. 8. Joseph Whittemore, 3d, Isabel Jeffords, Rebecca More, Mercy Wolcott, Mary Foster, Elizabeth Sewall, Ann Parker, Sarah and Frances, daughters of John Phillips, Jr., Elizabeth Davis, daughter of Zechariah Davis, Esther Minor, Sarah Scammon.

March 8. Daniel Russell, Esq., Samuel Barr, Hannan Welsh.

April 5. Samuel Sprague, John Stephens.

May 3. Thomas Welsh, Jr., Sarah, wife of Jonathan Edmonds.

May 31. John Soley, Samuel Kettle, Susannah, wife of Robert Scorsch, Anna Symmes, Lydes Stimpson, Susannah Fodick, Esther Rand.

June 28. Huldah, wife of Samuel Edes, Ann, wife of John Lothrop, Mrs. Elizabeth Cheever, Ann Kettell (fil diacon.) Mary Townsend.

July 26. William Jenkin, Abigail Nicholls, Susannah, wife of Samuel Fodick, Mehetable Swan, Grace, wife of Caleb Teol, Elizabeth, daughter of widow Elizabeth Wyer, Susannah Logun, Sarah Leeman.

Aug. 23. Robert Stone, Sarah Phillips.

Sept. 20. John Harris and his wife, Daniel Parker, Samuel Austin, Katharine Welsh, Bethiah Fowle.

Oct. 18. Mr. John Trumbal, Mr. Richard Russell, Phillip Devens, Sarah Cary.

Nov. 15. Isaac Smith, David Cheever.

Dec. 13. The wife of Jonathan Bowse, Jr.

Jan. 10. The widow Elizabeth Phipps, the wife of Jonathan Wood, Sarah Rand, Mary Davis, Penelope Bottrell.

Feb. 7. Eunice, the widow of Capt. Andrew Newell, Richard Kettle, Jr., Susannah Fodick, a widow.

1742.

May 30. Samuel Larkin, Jr., Alice, wife of Benjamin Kettell, Rebecca, wife of Thaddeus Mason, Eleanor, wife of Isaac Foster, Margaret, wife of Samuel Cary, John Carter and his wife.
 July 25. Hannah, wife of Jacob Howard.

Sept. 19. Mrs. Rebecca Austin.

Nov. 14. Old Mrs. Bodge, Katharine, wife of Mr. James Russell, the wife of Mr. David Newell, Hannah, wife of Mr. Thomas Brasier, Jr., Mrs. Hepzibah Frothingham, (filia diaconi,) Elizabeth Woodwell.

Dec. 12. Susannah, wife of William Leathers.

Feb. 6. Hannah Stevens.

1743.

May 29. Elizabeth Sprague, fil. of John deceased.
 Aug. 21. Daniel Lawrence, the widow Mercy Frothingham, Mrs. Alice Lord, Hannah, wife of Mr. Seth Sweetser, Sarah, wife of Mr. Samuel Bradstreet.

Oct. 16. James Capon, John Hancock, Elizabeth Frothingham.

Nov. 13. Hannah, wife of John Townsend, Abigail Stone, Mary Blechford.

Feb. 5. Mary, wife of Nathaniel Gorham, Joseph Phipps.

March 4. The widow Elizabeth Goodwin.

1744.

April 29. Susannah, wife of Charles White.

June 24. The wife of Thomas Williams, the wife of Benjamin Reed.

Aug. 19. Joseph Atwood.

Oct. 14. Margaret, wife of Samuel Sprague.

Dec. 9. Mary, wife of Timothy Trumbull, Mary wife of Timothy Austin.

Jan. 6. Nathaniel Frothingham, Jr. and Mary, his wife.

1745.

March 31. Susannah Hancock, fil. of John, Elizabeth Lamson, fil. of Nathaniel.

Sept. 15. Elizabeth Carey, Eunice Dana, Susannah, daughter of Nathaniel Frothingham.

Oct. 13. Abigail, wife of John Asberry.

Feb. 2. Rebecca Sweetser, a widow, Mary, wife of John Penny, Jr.

1746.

July 20. John Newell, aged about 82 years.

Aug. 17. Elizabeth Phipps.

Nov. 9. Edward Mirick.

Jan. 4. Joseph Lewis, Mercy, wife of John Hays.

1747.

Oct. 11. Anne, wife of Mr. William Barber.

1748.

May 22. Hannah Calder (Vidua,) John Webber, Abigail, wife of John Webber, Anna Hurd.

Sept. 1. Nicholas Hopping.

1749.

May 21. Abigail, wife of John Parker.

Oct. 8. Priscilla Gardner (of Nantucket.)

Dec. 31. The wife of Benjamin Hurd, Jr.

Jan. 28. Mehitable, wife of Ebenezer Marable.

Feb. 23. Ruth Austin, (Vidua of Thomas.)

1750.

April 21. Mr. James Russell, Katharine, wife of John Larkin.

May 20. Hannah Lord.

Nov. 4. Joseph Frothingham, Jr.

Dec. 2. Mr. Richard Cary.

Feb. 24. Mary, wife of Mr. Richard Boylston, Jr.

March 24. Mr. Edward Sheaffe, Jr.; the wife of James Kettell, Jr.

1751.

April 21. Rebecca, wife of Mr. David Wyer, Martha, wife of Mr. Edward Goodwin.

July 14. Stephen Badger, 3 tins.

Aug. 11. Mr. Samuel Hendly.

Oct. 3. Mr. Edward Sheaffe.

1752.

April 19. Alice Davis.

Nov. 12. Sarah Wheeler.

1753.

Jan. 7. Mary, wife of William Hopping, Jr.

Feb. 4. Sarah Parker.

March 4. Timothy Austin and Lydea, his wife, Ann, vidua of Benjamin Mirick, Abigail, wife of Samuel Lord, Joanna, wife of Anderson Adams.

April 1. Elizabeth Johnson, (fil. of Matthew,) Ann Wyer, (fil. of William.)

April 29. Mary, wife of Richard Russell.

May 27. Sarah, wife of Robert Cally, Mary Parker, (fil. of Isaac defunct.)

June 24. Sarah, wife of Thomas Austin, (fil. of Joseph.)

Aug. 19. Deborah, wife of Joseph Frothingham.

Sept. 16. Abigail, wife of Charles White.

Dec. 9. Joanna, wife of Samuel Bodge.

1754.

Jan. 6. Eunice, wife of Abraham Rand.

Feb. 3. Elizabeth Townsend, (fil. of David.)

March 3. Elias Stone, Jr., John Welsh, Joanna, wife of John Stanton.

March 31. John Wyer, John Kiddor, Abraham Snow, Mercy, wife of Joseph Frothingham, Jr.

April 28. Elizabeth Hopping.

July 21. Hannah, wife of Ebenezer Kent, Jr.

Aug. 18. Agnia, wife of Ianah Edes.

Sept. 15. Stephen Kidder, (from Nantucket,) Jane Holmes, wife of Nathaniel Holmes.

Oct. 13. Mr. Bartholomew Trowe.

1755.

Jan. 5. William Hopping, Jr., Rebecca, wife of Samuel Conant.

April 27. Elizabeth, wife of Robert Hussey.

July 20. Sarah Rand, Sarah Souther, Hulda Edes.

Nov. 9. Abigail Monk.

Dec. 7. The wife of Jonathan Rand, Jr., Elizabeth Souther, Anne Chamberlin.

1756.

Jan. 4. Joseph Larkin and wife, Mary, wife of Hammond Gowen, Joanna, wife of Samuel Swan, Susannah, wife of John Austin, Jr., Alice, wife of Benjamin Brasier, Jr., Anna Rand.

Feb. 29. Jemima, wife of Jonathan Chapman, Mary Edes, (fil. Dan.)

Apr. 25. Josiah Harris and his wife, Mrs. Parnel and Eliz. and Mary Codman, Jane Sewall, Rebecca Mason.

Aug. 15. Lydea Teel.

Sept. 12. Mary, wife of Mr. John White.

Oct. 10. Elizabeth, wife of Wilson Chamberlin, Joanna Trowe, Mary Rand.

Nov. 7. Lydea, wife of Alexander Watson.

Dec. 5. Elizabeth Trowe, Mary Call.

1757.

Jan. 2. Elizabeth Salter.

Jan. 30. Joanna Powers, a widow.

Apr. 24. Hephzibah Wolcott.

June 19. Ebenezer King and his wife Martha, Elizabeth Rand, (fil. of Whaff (?) Rand at Boston.)

Oct. 9. John Austin, Thomas and Anne Rand, Hephzibah, wife of Samuel Larkin, Jr., Abigail and Esther fil. patri Edes.

Nov. 6. Martha Trowe.

1758.

Jan. 1. Nathaniel Phillips, Katharine Whittemore, Hannah Rhodes, daughter of Jacob Rhodes.

Jan. 29. Hannah, wife of Elias Stone; Frances Webb, her sister; Mildred Whittemore; my daughter Mary Abbott.

Feb. 26. Hannah, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Rand, Samuel Townsend and his wife.

Mar. 26. Mrs. Jane Flucker.

Apr. 23. Mary, wife of Ebenezer Kent, Jr., Sarah Edes.

May 21. Mercy, wife of Mr. Jabez Whittemore.

June 18. Lois, wife of Thomas Hooper.

Sept. 10. Mary, wife of John Osburne.

Dec. 3. Mary Collins.

Dec. 31. John Larkin, Jr., Sarah Prentice, daughter of Solomon F., Elizabeth Huggins.

1759.

Jan. 28. Zechariah Larkin, Thomas Whittemore.

Feb. 25. Mildred Rand.

Mar. 25. Samuel Conant.

Apr. 22. Elizabeth, wife of Richard Phillips, Abiel Smith, vidua, Anne Brazier, vidua.

May 20. The wife of Stephen Gullishon, Rebecca Sprague, Irene and Mary Prentice, (fil. Revd.)

June 17. Joseph Rand, Mary Mirick.

July 15. Hannah, wife of Ephraim Breed, Mary Sweetser.

1760.

Jan. 27. James Frothingham and Abigail his wife.

Feb. 24. Ruth Kettell.

Feb. 24. Abigail Frothingham.

Apr. 20. Sarah, wife of William Conant.

July 13. Hannah, wife of John Cary.

Nov. 30. Elizabeth, wife of Robert Cally.

Dec. 28. The wife of James Kenny.

1761.

Mar. 22. Mr. David Newell.

Mar. 19. Phebe, wife of Wm. Manning, Jr.

June 14. Sarah Greaves.

July 12. Mr. Joseph Lynde and his wife.

Sept. 6. Sarah, daughter of Capt. John Hancock.

Oct. 4. Hephzibah Bradish, daughter of James B.

Nov. 1. Mary, wife of Thomas Edes.

Nov. 29. Sarah Welsh, Sarah Bradish.

1762.

May 18. Anne Rand.

Aug. 8. Sarah, wife of Nathaniel Kent.

Oct. 3. Jonathan Rand.

- Dec. 26. Sarah, wife of Timothy Bridgen. 1763.
 Jan. 23. Aaron Townsend, Mary, wife of Benj Frothingham, Jr., Hannah Lamson, daughter of Caleb Lamson.
 Dec. 23. Mr. John Miller, far advanced in years. Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Welsh, deceased. 1764.
 Feb. 19. Hannah Hutchinson.
 Mar. 13. Nehemiah Rand.
 Apr. 15. Mary Davis.
 May 13. Constant Freeman.
 July 8. Lydea Greenleaf.
 Aug. 5. John Ivory and wife, Mary Brown, vid. the wife of George Calder.
 Sept. 2. Susannah Hutchinson.
 Sept. 30. Katharine, wife of Mr. Samuel Hendley.
 Oct. 28. William Leathers, Jr., and his wife.
 Nov. 25. Benjamin Goodwin, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Harding. Hannah, wife of John Soley.
 Dec. 23. Thomas Wood, Richard Boylston, Eleazer Dowse. 1765.
 Apr. 14. Sarah Townsend.
 June 9. Ruth Hutchinson. 1766.
 Aug. 31. Hannah, wife of John Burn. (?)
 Dec. 21. Mr. James Hay, (far advanced in years.) 1767.
 May 10. Mary, wife of William Goodwin.
 June 7. Wife of Joseph Rand, Jr.
 Aug. 2. James Brazier.
 Sept. 27. Samuel Goodwin; the wife of Thomas Shephard. 1768.
 Jan. 17. Hannah, wife of David Newell, Jr.
 June 5. Sarah, wife of Edward Goodwin, Jr.
 Sept. 25. Thomas Prentice, a student of Holliston.
- Nov. 20. Sarah, the wife of Henry Phillips Sweetser.
 Dec. 18. Abigail, the wife of James Brazier, Abigail Kettell. 1769.
 Jan. 15. William and Joseph Kettle.
 Mar. 12. Mary, wife of William Fosdick.
 Apr. 9. Katharine, the wife of John Kettle.
 Sept. 24. Mary, wife of Ebon' Larkin.
 Dec. 17. Rebecca, wife of Nath'l Gorham. 1770.
 Jan. 14. William Wyer. 1771.
 Apr. 7. Sarah Hopping.
 Nov. 17. Isaac Kidder. 1772.
 May 31. Benjamin Hurd, Jr.
 Aug. 23. Isaac Parker.
 Sept. 30. — Eaton.
 Oct. 18. Joseph Hurd, Mary, wife of James Call, Sally Broadstreet, Mary Eaton. 1773.
 May 2. Elizabeth Leppington. 1774.
 Aug. 22. Rebecca Davis.
 Mar. 6. William and Ebenezer Frothingham.
 Apr. 3. Isaac Hurd. 1779.
 Jan. —. Henry Phillips Sweetser. 1783.
 June 23. Thomas and Rebecca Frothingham. 1787.
 Since 1786. Mrs. Elizabeth Sweetser, widow, Mrs. Nathaniel Austin, Mrs. Elizabeth Edmonds, Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Foster.
 July 8. Polly Hupkins, Francis Churchill.
 Aug. 12. Barnabas Barker, James Gardner.
 Nov. 11. Rebecca Cordis, wife of Joseph Cordis, Sarai, wife of Jonathan Thompson.

INDEX.

- Abbot, Rev. Hull, 125, 131, 136—39, 228; notes 45, 46.
 Aberginians, 10, 35, 37.
 Adams, Hon. J. Q., 79; note 34.
 Admonition by Boston churches, 111, 12; note 39.
 Alford Memoir, 245, 46.
 Allen, Rev. Thomas, 46, 50, 51; notes 22, 24.
 Arbella, 10, 165.
 Arbella, Lady, 14, 16, 17.
 Arianism, 152.
 Arminianism, 127, 28.
 Associate pastorships, 138, 39.
 Awakening, the Great, 125—130.
 Baptism, 59, 60, 65.
 Baptists, 56—59, 150; note 25.
 Beecher, Thomas, 33.
 Bell, 143, 237.
 Benefactors of the church, 158—160.
 Blackstone, Rev. William, 16; note 10.
 Block House, 141.
 Bradstreet, Rev. Simon, 111, 113, 114, 116, 125.
 Bradstreet, Madam, 246.
 Bradstreet, Mrs. Anne, 116—120.
 Brattle, Madam, 219.
 Bright, Rev. Francis, 11; note 4.
 Browne, Rev. Joseph, 72.
 Bunker hill battle, 139—141.
 Burying hill, 105.
 Catalogue of church members, 247—256.
 Charlestown, 11, 18, 20, 21, 38, 51, 52, 167; note 11.
 Chapel, 237.
 Chauncy, Dr., 134.
 Church, of Boston and Charlestown, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20; note 6.
 Church of Charlestown, 20—22, 31—35, 183—186.
 Church, Old South, 62; notes 26, 35.
 Church property, 157, 241.
 Church and state, 126, 152.
 Churches, division of, 155—157; comparative age of, 186, 87.
 Colleagues, 138, 39.
 Colman's description of Stevens, 122—124.
 Confession of faith of 1680, 93, 151.
 Congregational Church, Second, 151; note 53.
 Congregationalism, 155; faith of, 151.
 Consociation, 60, 61.
 Convention of Congregational ministers, testimony of, 132.
 Converse, Edward, 33.
 Cotton, Rev. John, 43, 46.
 Council, Ecclesiastical, 39, 79—82.
 Court, General, 15.
 Covenant, 13, 184.
 Covenant, Half-way, 59—65, 127, 152.
 Coytmore, Catharine, 190.
 Coytmore, Martha, 176.
 Creeds, 153.
 Davenport, Rev. John, 44, 62.
 Davenport, Rev. James, 131, 32, 134.
 Deacons, 15, 34, 110; note 19.
 Defection from the faith, 152—155.
 Devens, Richard, 159.
 Discipline, earliest case of, 56.
 Disorders following the revival, 132, 33.
 Dudley, Gov. Thomas, 13, 14, 19; note 8.
 Earthquake, 128; note 44.
 Edmunds, Daniel, 63.
 Eliot, Rev. John, 19.
 Exchange, refusal of, 156.
 Fanaticism, 43, 44, 130—135.
 Fast, 15, 18.
 Fay, Rev. Warren, 158.
 Frothingham, Dea., note 58.
 Frothingham, William, 34.
 Frothingham, Richard, Jr., 11.
 Funerals, early, 67.
 Gager, Dea., 15, 16.
 Galleries, 72, 211.
 Gilbert, Rev. Thomas, 71, 72.
 Gould, Thomas, 56—59; note 25.
 Graves, Thomas, 10, 11; note 3.
 Great House, 11, 15, 35, 195.
 Greene, John, 45, 49, 50.
 Hale, Robert, 34.
 Harvard, Rev. John, 44, 45, 182.
 Harvard Church, note 53.
 Harwood, Henry, 34.
 Higginson, Rev. John, 213.
 Hilton, William, 191, 92.
 Horsey's letter, note 37.
 Hunnewell, James, 243.
 Hutchinson, Anne, 41.
 Hutchinsonians, 42—44.

Imposition of hands, 102.

Induction of Mr. Morton, 101.

Installations and ordinations, 102.

Itinerants, 131.

James, Rev. Thomas, 20, 34, 38, 39, 40; note 21.

James, Rev. Thomas, of Long Island, 41.

Johnson, Isaac, 13, 14, 16, 17.

Larkin, Dea., 160.

Learned, William, 45.

Lecture, Charlestown, note 41.

Lemmon, Mary, 159.

Lincoln, Countess of, 19.

Lord's day, 22, 23.

Lord's supper, 22, 65, 141.

Lowden, John, 64.

Meeting-house, 11, 20, 72, 115, 116, 142, 153; notes 20, 49, 55.

Meeting-house Hill, 11, 12, 142; note 48.

Miller, Dea., note 58.

Miller, Capt. John, 159.

Ministers, 15, 147, 48; mode of calling, note 39.

Mishawum, 11.

Missions, Indian, 199.

Morse, Rev. Dr., 150—158; notes 52, 54.

Morton, Rev. Charles, 99—103, 106—113; notes 37, 38, 40.

Mousall, Ralph, 34.

Nowell, Increase, 15, 31, 32, 38, 45; note 17.

Nowell, Parnel, 104.

Nowell, Samuel, 190, 91.

Oakes, Rev. Urian, 78; note 33.

Old South Church, Boston, 62; notes 26, 35.

Ordination, early, 21.

Organ, 237.

Osborn, Thomas, 56, 57, 58.

Oxenbridge, Rev. John, 66.

Paine, Rev. Joshua, 143—147, 239.

Palmer, Abraham, 33.

Parish, 143; note 50.

Pastor, office of, 15.

Pearce, Capt., 13, 48.

Pemberton, Rev. Ebenezer, 110.

Pews, owners of, 236.

Phillips, Henry, 159.

Pilgrims, 10—17.

Platform, Cambridge, 47; note 23.

Prentice, Rev. Thomas, 125, 131, 138—142; notes 43, 47.

Printing, early, 188.

Property of the church, 241.

Psalms, New England version, note 15.

Public worship, 22, 23.

Puritans, 23—30, 48, 49, 52, 68, 160—162; note 16.

Questions after sermon, 44.

Records, town, note 5; church, note 14.

Reformation, English, 24.

Relations of religious experience, 96.

Removal to Boston, 16.

Revivals, 128—130.

Richardson, Ezekiel, 34.

Ruling elder, 15, 49.

Russell, Rev. Daniel, 72, 79, 82; Richard, 159; James, 114, 159, 223; Thomas, 143, 159; family, note 57.

Sabba'day house, note 30.

Sacramental furniture, note 56.

Sagamore, John, 10, 37.

Sallonsall, Sir Richard, 15.

Scarcity, 13, 18.

Seating meeting-house, note 30.

Shepard, Rev. Thomas, of Cambridge, 55; Rev. Thomas, 2d, 54, 72—78, 208; notes 31, 32, 33, 36; Rev. Thomas, 3d, 80—87, 93—98, 220, 246.

Sickness, 12, 16, 17, 35, 36.

Small-pox, 36, 76, 121.

Smith, Elizabeth, 159.

Sprague, Ralph, 10, 33, 45; Richard, 10, 33, 159, 246; note 18; William, 10.

Stevens, Abigail, 159.

Stevens, Rev. Joseph, 114, 15, 121—124; note 42.

Stoughton, Rev. W., 68—70, 213.

Style, old and new, note 13.

Symmes, Rev. Zechariah, 38, 39, 45, 66, 70; note 28.

Synod of 1637, 41—44; of 1648, 46—48, note 23; of 1662, 60—62; of 1679—80, 89—93.

Tablet, 148; note 51.

Teacher, office of, 15.

Testimony to the Revival, 133.

Thacher, Rev. Dr., 144—147, 243.

Thanksgiving, 11, 18.

Thatcher, Rev. Thomas, 208.

Toleration, 56; note 31.

Town of Charlestown, 11, 35; records of, note 5.

Unitarians, separation from, 151, 55, 56.

Unitarianism, origin of, 152—155.

Universalist meeting-house, 150.

Walford, Thomas, 10; note 2.

Westminster confession, 47.

Whitefield, 129.

Willoughby, Francis, 208.

Wilson, Rev. John, 13—15, 18, 20, 62; note 9; wife of, note 12.

Winter, 18, 20.

Winthrop, Gov. John, 10, 13, 14, 17; notes 1, 7.

Winthrop church, note 53.

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 11, 1st line, for "Thomas," read Francis.
- P. 77, last line, for "foreut," read forent.
- P. 120, 28th line, for "Anna," read Anne.
- P. 182, 2d line, for "January 9th," read January 19th.

I am indebted to Mr. Richard Frothingham, Jr. for a correction of the statement made on page 33. Capt. Richard Sprague, who died in 1703, was the nephew of Richard and the son of Ralph Sprague. See Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 22.

